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JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON

FIRTH

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
LONDON, EDINBURGH
NEW YORK AND TORONTO

JOHNSON'S LIVES OF THE POETS

MILTON

EDITED, WITH NOTES, ETC.

BY

C. H. FIRTH

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PREFACE

IN the spring of 1777 the London booksellers formed the design of publishing a new collection of the English poets, and decided to treat with Johnson for prefaces to their works. A series of those writers was then being published at Edinburgh, of which the type was bad and the text inaccurate. Moreover its publication was an invasion of what the London booksellers had been accustomed to consider their literary property. The booksellers long believed that they possessed a claim by the common law to a perpetual interest in the books whose copyright they had bought from their authors. But a statute passed in 1710 had given them an exclusive right for fourteen years only, and the Lords decided in 1774 that by it any right at common law was thenceforth extinguished. To compete with their Scotch rivals the London booksellers sought the aid of Johnson's pen. They proposed to publish an elegant and uniform edition with a concise account of the life of each author. A deputation waited on him on May 20, 1777, to arrange terms. He asked merely for two hundred, although, according to Malone, he might safely have demanded one thousand or even fifteen hundred guineas.

The booksellers at once agreed, and added spontaneously 100 guineas in 1781 on the completion of the work, and another 100 in 1783 when Johnson revised the third edition. He was quite satisfied with this sum, although small compared with the gains of many of his contemporaries, and always described the booksellers as having treated him with fairness and generosity. The first four volumes of

his prefaces appeared in 1779, and the remaining six in 1781. The greater number of the proof sheets with Johnson's manuscript corrections are in the South Kensington Museum. As he advanced in the composition of the Lives his original scheme expanded. 'My purpose,' he says, 'was only to have allotted to every poet an Advertisement, like that which we find in the French Miscellanies, containing a few dates, and a general character, but I have been led beyond my intention, I hope by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure.' 'Some time in March' he notes in his 'Meditations' for 1781, 'I finished the "Lives of the Poets," which I wrote in my usual way, dilatorily and hastily, unwilling to work, and working with vigour and haste.' In a memorandum previous to this he says of them: 'written I hope, in such a manner as may tend to the promotion of piety.' (Boswell's Johnson, ed. Hill, iii. 111; iv. 34.)

The 'Lives of the Poets' at once became popular, and their popularity has been permanent. Of all Johnson's works it is the one most read and most quoted. Its success is not difficult to explain. The style is easier and simpler than that of his earlier works, and often reproduces the characteristic flavour of his conversation. The subject, if not entirely new, is perennially interesting, and had never been adequately treated by any other writer. The amount of new biographical material at Johnson's disposal was considerable, and he had applied freely to all persons able to supply him with information. (Johnson's Lives, ed. Cunningham, pp. vii, xv.) Still, it was neither the fulness of the author's knowledge, nor the novelty of his subject, but his excellence as a biographer, which made the 'Lives of the Poets' an English classic. Johnson's conception of the duties of a biographer was liberal and comprehensive. He made no attempt to idealise the men whose lives he wrote, and neither concealed their failings nor palliated their follies. He tried to represent them as they were, and did not consider their looks, or their daily habits, or their personal peculiarities,

as things too trivial for the dignity of biography. His portraits may be sometimes tinged with prejudice, but he always presents us with real men and not with conventional figures. His occasional reflections on manners and morals are acute and entertaining, for his knowledge was not drawn from books only; like Pope 'he had studied in the Academy of Paracelsus, and made the world his favourite volume.'

In the opinion of Macaulay the best of the Lives are those of Cowley, Dryden, and Pope, and the worst is that of Gray. The comparative inferiority of the Life of Milton is not owing to Johnson's defective knowledge of his subject. Certain errors of fact the life of course does contain. In some cases later enquiry has disproved statements received as true when Johnson wrote. The investigations of the genealogists of the present century have superseded his account of Milton's family and pedigree. The researches of Professor Masson amongst the State-papers have revealed the exact history of Milton's Latin secretaryship. The publication of Milton's 'Treatise of Christian Doctrine' has thrown new light on the development of his religious opinions. There are however other cases in which Johnson has fallen into error through negligence. He attributes to Ellwood instead of to Phillips the statement that Milton could not endure to hear 'Paradise Regained' judged inferior to 'Paradise Lost,' and expands that statement into the assertion that the poet preferred 'Paradise Regained' to 'Paradise Lost.' On another occasion he refers to Phillips as authority for a statement which is made by Birch. He carelessly writes of Milton as making the ten books of 'Paradise Lost' into twelve by the division of the seventh and *twelfth*. He misdates one of Milton's works, and appears to confound two of his pamphlets into one.

These are trifling slips; the great defect of Johnson's life of Milton is the persistent depreciation of the poet's character which pervades it throughout. At the time, and ever since, it called forth continual protests. 'Against the life of

Milton,' says Boswell, 'the hounds of Whiggism have opened in full cry.' Horace Walpole writes of Johnson's 'Billingsgate on Milton,' but weakens the force of his censure by confessing in a later letter that he had 'made a point of conscience of not buying "Johnson's Lives," and had never even dipped into the earlier volumes.' (Walpole's Letters, ed. Cunningham, vii. 452, 508.) Cowper devotes the whole of one of his letters to Unwin to a detailed criticism of the Life of Milton, and complains that he 'has belaboured that great poet's character with the most industrious cruelty. As a man he has hardly left him the shadow of one good quality. Churlishness in private life, and a rancorous hatred of everything royal in his public, are the two colours with which he has smeared all the canvas.' (Oct. 31, 1779, to Unwin.) A later editor has also printed the indignant notes which Cowper wrote in the margin of his copy of the Lives. Milton's last biographer describes Johnson as 'employing all his vigorous powers and consummate skill to write down Milton. He undoubtedly dealt a heavy blow to the poet's reputation, and succeeded in damaging it for at least two generations of readers. He did for Milton what Aristophanes did for Socrates, effaced the real man and replaced him by a distorted and degrading caricature.' (Pattison, Milton, p. 219.)

The unfairness of Johnson's account lies in the fact that he exaggerates the failings of Milton's private life, and distorts and miscolours the history of his public life. He adopts the harshest accounts of Milton's treatment of his daughters. He accuses him of changing his party for personal motives, and betraying his principles from love of money. If he does not directly assert that he interpolated Eikon Basilike for party purposes, he does not shrink from insinuating that he was capable of doing so. This charge of injustice cannot be refuted, as Boswell seeks to refute it, by bringing forward those passages in which Johnson praises Milton in noble and appropriate language. With

some parts of Milton's character, with his independence and self-reliance especially, he had full sympathy. But he had no sympathy with the aims and the principles which filled so large a place in Milton's life, and he did not even take the trouble properly to understand them.

Johnson's reputation as a critic has been less durable than his popularity as a biographer. The critical writing of one age rarely satisfies another. But superannuated though some of his criticism may be, there is much in it of permanent value. 'His criticisms,' says Macaulay, 'are often excellent, and even when grossly and provokingly unjust well deserve to be studied. They are the judgments of a mind trammelled by prejudice and deficient in sensibility, but vigorous and acute. They therefore generally contain a portion of valuable truth which deserves to be separated from the alloy; and at the very worst they mean something, a praise to which much of what is called criticism in our time has no pretension.' (Macaulay, art. Samuel Johnson, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.) The great merits of Johnson's criticism are its independence and its sincerity. He is never awed into approval of the defects of a great writer, but judges the immortals with all the freedom of an equal. He never affects to admire anything which he does not sincerely feel to be admirable, says honestly what he thinks, and gives reasons for his opinions. To everything he impartially applies the same standards, and tests all varieties of poetry by their conformity to the rules of truth and common sense. It was one of his favourite critical maxims that the basis of all excellence is truth. He praises one of Gray's Odes because it is 'at once rational and poetical.' He complains that another does not 'promote any truth, moral or political.' Johnson's love of logical consistency appears in his exposure of the fallacies of Pope's 'Essay on Man.' His hatred of insincerity inspires his condemnation of Cowley's 'Mistress' and Hammond's Elegies. For many of the received conventions of poetry,

both as to form and style, he had no respect. Pindarics and Pastorals, 'descriptions copied from descriptions, imitations borrowed from imitations, traditional images and hereditary similes' shared the same censure. In his criticism of 'Lycidas' he allowed his dislike to the conventional framework of Milton's poem to run away with him. The pastoral form had been vulgarised by a century of imitators, until, as he observes, the intelligent reader sickened at the mention of crooks and pipes. Nor was he altogether wrong when he detected a certain lack of genuine affection in Milton's lament for King, for there is far more tenderness in Milton's grief for the loss of his friend Charles Diodati. But he failed to perceive the real feeling which does find utterance in parts of 'Lycidas,' saw nothing in Milton's passionate indignation against the corrupt clergy but inveterate malignity to the church, and did not notice that when the poet lamented the death of the scholar whose laborious days had missed their earthly guerdon, he was thinking of his own labours also, and of what might be their fate too. In the same manner Johnson failed to appreciate either the style or the versification of 'Lycidas.' In all questions of diction and metre he followed the traditions of Dryden and Pope. Pope, he said, had left in his Homer a treasure of poetical elegances to posterity. His version might be said to have tuned the English tongue, for since its appearance no writer, however deficient in other powers, had wanted melody. So, with his ears trained to Pope's music and Pope's phrases, he found the diction of 'Lycidas' and 'Comus' harsh, and the numbers unpleasing and unmusical. No doubt the mixture of longer and shorter verses, and the irregular recurrence of the rhymes which he noted in 'Lycidas,' reminded him of Pindarics. His criticism of the Sonnets was equally unhappy: all that could be said of the best of them was that they were not bad. This almost matches the observation of Steevens that an Act of Parliament would be required to make people read

Shakespeare's Sonnets. Johnson was more in his element when criticising 'Paradise Lost' than when dealing with Milton's minor poems. Those little pieces, he said, might be dispatched without much anxiety, a greater work called for greater care. For the most part his criticism is based on the rules laid down by Aristotle in his 'Poetics,' but he follows them without servility. Of English critics he cites Bentley and Dryden, but only to differ from them. Addison he frequently quotes with approval, and in his life of that author defends him against the existing generation, which had begun to dispute his claims to be considered as a critic at all. They condemned his criticism as 'tentative or experimental rather than scientific,' 'deciding by taste rather than principles.' Against these attacks Johnson justifies Addison: 'Had he presented Paradise Lost to the public with all the pomp of system and severity of science, the criticism would perhaps have been admired, and the poem still have been neglected; but by the blandishments of gentleness and facility he has made Milton an universal favourite with whom readers of every class think it necessary to be pleased.' (Lives of the Poets, ii. 406; ed. 1794.) In his own criticism of 'Paradise Lost' he is very often in agreement with Addison. Instances of this, and cases in which their opinions differ, are pointed out in the notes to the present edition. Johnson also refers to Voltaire's criticisms of 'Paradise Lost,' contained in a dissertation on epic poetry attached to the 'Henriade,' and had perhaps read the article 'Epopée' in the Dictionnaire Philosophique, where Voltaire again discusses Milton's epic. He was in agreement with Voltaire when he censured the allegory of Sin and Death, and condemned the materialism of the war in Heaven, and included both in his catalogue of the defects of 'Paradise Lost.' These lists of faults and defects are an essential part of Johnson's system of criticism. He did not seek to appreciate but simply to judge. He held it to be the business of the critic to point out impartially the faults of a great work, just as it was the business of the biographer

to point out the faults of a great author. But in his criticism of Milton's poetry there is no sign of the prejudices which prevented him from doing justice to Milton's life and character. Where that criticism is defective the cause is, to use one of Johnson's own phrases, not lack of candour, but lack of sensibility.

For the Biographical notes to this edition I must acknowledge the great assistance derived from Masson's Life of Milton. For some of the critical notes I am indebted to Peter Cunningham's edition of the 'Lives of the Poets,' 1854; and for some others I have to express my thanks to Dr. Hill. I am also obliged to Mr. N. M. Billimoria of Bombay for pointing out several errors and misprints in the first edition.

OXFORD, *October*, 1891.

LIVES OF THE POETS.

MILTON.

THE life of Milton has been already written in so many forms, and with such minute inquiry, that I might perhaps more properly have contented myself with the addition of a few notes on Mr. Fenton's elegant abridgment, but that a new narrative was thought necessary to the uniformity of this edition.

John Milton was by birth a gentleman, descended from the proprietors of Milton, near Thame, in Oxfordshire, one of whom forfeited his estate in the times of York and Lancaster. Which side he took I know not; his descendant inherited no veneration for the White Rose.

His grandfather, John, was keeper of the forest of Shotover, a zealous Papist, who disinherited his son because he had forsaken the religion of his ancestors.

His father, John, who was the son disinherited, had recourse for his support to the profession of a scrivener. He was a man eminent for his skill in music, many of his compositions being still to be found; and his reputation in his profession was such, that he grew rich, and retired to an estate. He had probably more than common literature, as his son addresses him in one of his most elaborate Latin poems. He married a gentlewoman of the name

of Caston, a Welsh family, by whom he had two sons, John, the poet, and Christopher, who studied the law, and adhered, as the law taught him, to the king's party, for which he was awhile persecuted; but having, by his brother's interest, obtained permission to live in quiet, he supported himself so honourably by chamber-practice, that, soon after the accession of King James, he was knighted and made a judge; but, his constitution being too weak for business, he retired before any disreputable compliances became necessary.

He had likewise a daughter Anne, whom he married with a considerable fortune to Edward Phillips, who came from Shrewsbury, and rose in the Crown-office to be secondary: by him she had two sons, John and Edward, who were educated by the poet, and from whom is derived the only authentic account of his domestic manners.

John the poet, was born in his father's house, at the Spread Eagle, in Bread Street, Dec. 9, 1608, between six and seven in the morning. His father appears to have been very solicitous about his education; for he was instructed at first by private tuition under the care of Thomas Young, who was afterwards chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburgh, and of whom we have reason to think well, since his scholar considered him as worthy of an epistolary elegy.

He was then sent to St. Paul's school, under the care of Mr. Gill; and removed, in the beginning of his sixteenth year, to Christ's College, in Cambridge, where he entered a sizar, Feb. 12, 1624.

He was at this time eminently skilled in the Latin tongue; and he himself, by annexing the dates to his first compositions, a boast of which Politian had given him an *example*, seems to commend the earliness of his own

proficiency to the notice of posterity. But the products of his vernal fertility have been surpassed by many, and particularly by his contemporary Cowley. Of the powers of the mind it is difficult to form an estimate: many have excelled Milton in their first essays, who never rose to works like 'Paradise Lost.'

At fifteen, a date which he uses till he is sixteen, he translated or versified two Psalms, 114 and 136, which he thought worthy of the public eye; but they raise no great expectations: they would in any numerous school have obtained praise, but not excited wonder.

Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year, by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with very nice discernment. I once heard Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark, 'what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance. If any exceptions can be made, they are very few: Haddon and Ascham, the pride of Elizabeth's reign, however they have succeeded in prose, no sooner attempt verses than they provoke derision. If we produced anything worthy of notice before the elegies of Milton, it was perhaps Alabaster's 'Roxana.'

Of these exercises, which the rules of the University required, some were published by him in his maturer years. They had been undoubtedly applauded; for they were such as few can form: yet there is reason to suspect that he was regarded in his college with no great fondness. That he obtained no fellowship is certain; but the unkindness with which he was treated was not merely negative. I am ashamed to relate what I fear is true, that Milton was one of the last students in either Uni-

versity that suffered the public indignity of corporal correction.

It was, in the violence of controversial hostility, objected to him, that he was expelled: this he steadily denies, and it was apparently not true; but it seems plain, from his own verses to 'Diodati,' that he had incurred 'rustication,' a temporary dismission into the country, with perhaps the loss of a term.

Me tenet urbs refluâ quam Thamesis alluit undâ,
Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.
Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,
Nec dudum *vetiti* me *laris* angit amor.—
Nec duri libet usque minas perferre magistri,
Caeteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.
Si sit hoc *exilium* patrios adiisse penates,
Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,
Non ego vel *profugi* nomen sortemve recuso,
Laetus et *exilii* conditione fruor.

I cannot find any meaning but this, which even kindness and reverence can give to the term, 'vetiti laris,' 'a habitation from which he is excluded;' or how 'exile' can be otherwise interpreted. He declares yet more, that he is weary of enduring 'the threats of a rigorous master, and something else which a temper like his cannot undergo.' What was more than threat was probably punishment. This poem, which mentions his 'exile,' proves likewise that it was not perpetual; for it concludes with a resolution of returning some time to Cambridge. And it may be conjectured, from the willingness with which he has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as gave him no shame.

He took both the usual degrees: that of bachelor in 1628, and that of master in 1632; but he left the University with no kindness for its institution, alienated either by the

injudicious severity of his governors, or his own captious perverseness. The cause cannot now be known, but the effect appears in his writings. His scheme of education, inscribed to Hartlib, supersedes all academical instruction, being intended to comprise the whole time which men usually spend in literature, from their entrance upon grammar, till they proceed, as it is called, Masters of Arts. And in his discourse 'on the likeliest Way to remove Hirelings out of the Church,' he ingeniously proposes 'that the profits of the lands forfeited by the act for superstitious uses should be applied to such academies all over the land where languages and arts may be taught together; so that youth may be at once brought up to a competency of learning and an honest trade, by which means such of them as had the gift, being enabled to support themselves (without tithes) by the latter, may, by the help of the former, become worthy preachers.'

One of his objections to academical education, as it was then conducted, is, that men designed for orders in the church were permitted to act plays, 'writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trincalos, buffoons, and bawds, prostituting the shame of that ministry which they had, or were near having, to the eyes of courtiers and court-ladies, their grooms and mademoiselles.'

This is sufficiently peevish in a man, who, when he mentions his exile from the college, relates, with great luxuriance, the compensation which the pleasures of the theatre afford him. Plays were therefore only criminal when they were acted by academics.

He went to the university with a design of entering into the church, but in time altered his mind; for he declared, that whoever became a clergyman, must 'subscribe slave,

and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must straight perjure himself. He thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing.'

These expressions are, I find, applied to the subscription of the Articles; but it seems more probable that they relate to canonical obedience. I know not any of the Articles which seem to thwart his opinions: but the thoughts of obedience, whether canonical or civil, raised his indignation.

His unwillingness to engage in the ministry, perhaps not yet advanced to a settled resolution of declining it, appears in a letter to one of his friends, who had reproved his suspended and dilatory life, which he seems to have imputed to an insatiable curiosity, and fantastic luxury of various knowledge. To this he writes a cool and plausible answer, in which he endeavours to persuade him, that the delay proceeds not from the delights of desultory study, but from the desire of obtaining more fitness for his task; and that he goes on, 'not taking thought of being late, so it give advantage to be more fit.'

When he left the University, he returned to his father, then residing at Horton, in Buckinghamshire, with whom he lived five years, in which time he is said to have read all the Greek and Latin writers. With what limitations this universality is to be understood, who shall inform us?

It might be supposed, that he who read so much should have done nothing else; but Milton found time to write the masque of 'Comus,' which was presented at Ludlow, then the residence of the Lord President of Wales, in 1634; *and had the honour* of being acted by the Earl of Bridge*water's sons and* daughter. The fiction is derived from

Homer's 'Circe'; but we never can refuse to any modern the liberty of borrowing from Homer:

——a quo ceu fonte perenni
Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.

His next production was 'Lycidas,' an elegy, written in 1637, on the death of Mr. King, the son of Sir John King, Secretary for Ireland in the time of Elizabeth, James, and Charles. King was much a favourite at Cambridge, and many of the wits joined to do honour to his memory. Milton's acquaintance with the Italian writers may be discovered by a mixture of longer and shorter verses, according to the rules of Tuscan poetry, and his malignity to the church by some lines which are interpreted as threatening its extermination.

He is supposed about this time to have written his Arcades; for while he lived at Horton he used sometimes to steal from his studies a few days, which he spent at Harefield, the house of the Countess Dowager of Derby, where the Arcades made part of a dramatic entertainment.

He began now to grow weary of the country, and had some purpose of taking chambers in the Inns of Court, when the death of his mother set him at liberty to travel, for which he obtained his father's consent, and Sir Henry Wotton's directions; with the celebrated precept of prudence, *i pensieri stretti, ed il viso sciolto*; 'thoughts close, and looks loose.'

In 1638 he left England, and went first to Paris; where, by the favour of Lord Scudamore, he had the opportunity of visiting Grotius, then residing at the French court as ambassador from Christina of Sweden. From Paris he hasted into Italy, of which he had with particular diligence *studied the language* and literature; and, though he seems

to have intended a very quick perambulation of the country, stayed two months at Florence; where he found his way into the academies, and produced his compositions with such applause as appears to have exalted him in his own opinion, and confirmed him in the hope, that, 'by labour and intense study, which,' says he, 'I take to be my portion in this life, joined with a strong propensity of nature,' he might 'leave something so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let it die.'

It appears, in all his writings, that he had the usual concomitant of great abilities, a lofty and steady confidence in himself, perhaps not without some contempt of others; for scarcely any man ever wrote so much, and praised so few. Of his praise he was very frugal; as he set its value high, and considered his mention of a name as a security against the waste of time, and a certain preservation from oblivion.

At Florence he could not indeed complain that his merit wanted distinction. Carlo Dati presented him with an encomiastic inscription, in the tumid lapidary style; and Francini wrote him an ode, of which the first stanza is only empty noise; the rest are perhaps too diffuse on common topics: but the last is natural and beautiful.

From Florence he went to Sienna, and from Sienna to Rome, where he was again received with kindness by the learned and the great. Holstenius, the keeper of the Vatican library, who had resided three years at Oxford, introduced him to Cardinal Barberini: and he, at a musical entertainment, waited for him at the door, and led him by the hand into the assembly. Here Selvaggi praised him in a distich, and Salsilli in a tetrastich: neither of them of much value. The Italians were gainers by this literary commerce; for the encomiums with which

Milton repaid Salsilli, though not secure against a stern grammarian, turn the balance indisputably in Milton's favour.

Of these Italian testimonies, poor as they are, he was proud enough to publish them before his poems; though he says, he cannot be suspected but to have known that they were said *non tam de se, quam supra se.*

At Rome, as at Florence, he stayed only two months: a time indeed sufficient, if he desired only to ramble with an explainer of its antiquities, or to view palaces and count pictures; but certainly too short for the contemplation of learning, policy, or manners.

From Rome he passed on to Naples, in company of a hermit, a companion from whom little could be expected; yet to him Milton owed his introduction to Manso, Marquis of Villa, who had been before the patron of Tasso. Manso was enough delighted with his accomplishments to honour him with a sorry distich, in which he commends him for everything but his religion: and Milton, in return, addressed him in a Latin poem, which must have raised a high opinion of English elegance and literature.

His purpose was now to have visited Sicily and Greece; but hearing of the differences between the king and parliament, he thought it proper to hasten home, rather than pass his life in foreign amusements while his countrymen were contending for their rights. He therefore came back to Rome, though the merchants informed him of plots laid against him by the Jesuits, for the liberty of his conversations on religion. He had sense enough to judge that there was no danger, and therefore kept on his way, and acted as before, neither obtruding nor shunning controversy. He had perhaps given some offence by visiting Galileo, then a prisoner in the Inquisition for philosophical

heresy; and at Naples he was told by Manso, that, by his declarations on religious questions, he had excluded himself from some distinctions which he should otherwise have paid him. But such conduct, though it did not please, was yet sufficiently safe; and Milton stayed two months more at Rome, and went on to Florence without molestation.

From Florence he visited Lucca. He afterwards went to Venice; and, having sent away a collection of music and other books, travelled to Geneva, which he probably considered as the metropolis of orthodoxy.

Here he reposed as in a congenial element, and became acquainted with John Diodati and Frederick Spanheim, two learned professors of divinity. From Geneva he passed through France; and came home, after an absence of a year and three months.

At his return he heard of the death of his friend, Charles Diodati; a man whom it is reasonable to suppose of great merit, since he was thought by Milton worthy of a poem, intituled 'Epitaphium Damonis,' written with the common but childish imitation of pastoral life.

He now hired a lodging at the house of one Russel, a tailor in St. Bride's Churchyard, and undertook the education of John and Edward Phillips, his sister's sons. Finding his rooms too little, he took a house and garden in Aldersgate Street, which was not then so much out of the world as it is now, and chose his dwelling at the upper end of a passage, that he might avoid the noise of the street. Here he received more boys, to be boarded and instructed.

Let not our veneration for Milton forbid us to look with some degree of merriment on great promises and small performance, on the man who hastens home, because his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and, when he

reaches the scene of action, vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding-school. This is the period of his life from which all his biographers seem inclined to shrink. They are unwilling that Milton should be degraded to a schoolmaster; but since it cannot be denied that he taught boys, one finds out that he taught for nothing, and another that his motive was only zeal for the propagation of learning and virtue; and all tell what they do not know to be true, only to excuse an act which no wise man will consider as in itself disgraceful. His father was alive; his allowance was not ample; and he supplied its deficiencies by an honest and useful employment.

It is told, that in the art of education he performed wonders; and a formidable list is given of the authors, Greek and Latin, that were read in Aldersgate Street by youth between ten and fifteen or sixteen years of age. Those who tell or receive these stories should consider, that nobody can be taught faster than he can learn. The speed of the horseman must be limited by the power of his horse. Every man that has ever undertaken to instruct others can tell what slow advances he has been able to make, and how much patience it requires to recall vagrant inattention, to stimulate sluggish indifference, and to rectify absurd misapprehension.

The purpose of Milton, as it seems, was to teach something more solid than the common literature of schools, by reading those authors that treat of physical subjects, such as the georgic, and astronomical treatises of the ancients. This was a scheme of improvement which seems to have busied many literary projectors of that age. Cowley, who had more means than Milton of knowing what was wanting to the embellishments of life, formed the same plan of education in his imaginary college.

But the truth is, that the knowledge of external nature, and the sciences which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next is an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with those examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and justice are virtues and excellences of all times and of all places; we are perpetually moralists, but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intellectual nature is necessary; our speculations upon matter are voluntary, and at leisure. Physiological learning is of such rare emergence, that one man may know another half his life without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostatics or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears.

Those authors, therefore, are to be read at schools that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, and most materials for conversation; and these purposes are best served by poets, orators, and historians.

Let me not be censured for this digression as pedantic or paradoxical; for, if I have Milton against me, I have Socrates on my side. It was his labour to turn philosophy from the study of Nature to speculations upon life; but the innovators whom I oppose are turning off attention from life to nature. They seem to think that we are placed here to watch the growth of plants, or the motions of the stars. Socrates was rather of opinion that what we had to learn was how to do good and avoid evil.

Ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται.

Of institutions we may judge by their effects. From this wonder-working academy I do not know that there ever

proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge: its only genuine product, I believe, is a small History of Poetry, written in Latin by his nephew Phillips, of which perhaps none of my readers has ever heard.

That in his school, as in everything else which he undertook, he laboured with great diligence, there is no reason for doubting. One part of his method deserves general imitation. He was careful to instruct his scholars in religion. Every Sunday was spent upon theology, of which he dictated a short system, gathered from the writers that were then fashionable in the Dutch universities.

He set his pupils an example of hard study and spare diet; only now and then he allowed himself to pass a day of festivity and indulgence with some gay gentlemen of Gray's Inn.

He now began to engage in the controversies of the times, and lent his breath to blow the flames of contention. In 1641 he published a treatise 'Of Reformation' in two books, against the established church, being willing to help the Puritans, who were, he says, 'inferior to the Prelates in learning.'

Hall, Bishop of Norwich, had published an 'Humble Remonstrance,' in defence of Episcopacy; to which, in 1641, five ministers, of whose names the first letters made the celebrated word *Smectymnuus*, gave their 'Answer.' Of this 'Answer' a confutation was attempted by the learned Usher; and to the confutation Milton published a reply, entitled, 'Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the Apostolical Times, by virtue of those Testimonies which are alleged to that purpose in some late Treatises, one whereof goes under the name of James, Lord Bishop of Armagh.'

I have transcribed this title to show, by his contempetuous

mention of Usher, that he had now adopted the Puritanical savageness of manners. His next work was, 'The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy,' by Mr. John Milton, 1642. In this book he discovers, not with ostentatious exultation, but with calm confidence, his high opinion of his own powers; and promises to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country. 'This,' says he, 'is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out His seraphim, with the hallowed fire of His altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom He pleases. To this must be added, industrious and select reading, steady observation, and insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, I refuse not to sustain this expectation.' From a promise like this, at once fervid, pious, and rational, might be expected the 'Paradise Lost.'

He published the same year two more pamphlets, upon the same question. To one of his antagonists, who affirms that he was 'vomited out of the university,' he answers in general terms: 'The fellows of the college wherein I spent some years, at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many times how much better it would content them that I should stay.—As for the common approbation or dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should esteem or disesteem myself the more for that, too simple is the answerer, if he think to obtain with me. Of small practice were the physician who could not judge by what she and her sister have of long time vomited, that the worser stuff she strongly keeps in her stomach, but the better she is ever kecking at, and is queasy; she vomits now out of sickness; but before it will be well with her, she must vomit with strong physic. The university, in the time of her better health, and

my younger judgment, I never greatly admired, but now much less.'

This is surely the language of a man who thinks that he has been injured. He proceeds to describe the course of his conduct, and the train of his thoughts; and, because he has been suspected of incontinence, gives an account of his own purity: 'That if I be justly charged,' says he, 'with this crime, it may come upon me with tenfold shame.'

The style of his piece is rough, and such perhaps was that of his antagonist. This roughness he justifies by great examples, in a long digression. Sometimes he tries to be humorous: 'Lest I should take him for some chaplain in hand, some squire of the body to his prelate, one who serves not at the altar only, but at the court-cupboard, he will bestow on us a pretty model of himself; and sets me out half-a-dozen phthisical mottoes, wherever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion fits; in which labour the agony of his wit having escaped narrowly, instead of well-sized periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumb-ring posies.—And thus ends this section, or rather dissection, of himself.' Such is the controversial merriment of Milton; his gloomy seriousness is yet more offensive. Such is his malignity, 'that hell grows darker at his frown.'

His father, after Reading was taken by Essex, came to reside in his house, and his school increased. At Whitsuntide, in his thirty-fifth year, he married Mary, the daughter of Mr. Powell, a justice of the peace in Oxfordshire. He brought her to town with him, and expected all the advantages of a conjugal life. The lady, however, seems not much to have delighted in the pleasures of spare diet and hard study; for, as Phillips relates, 'having for a month led a philosophic life, after having been used at home to a great house, and much company and joviality, her friends, possibly

by her own desire, made earnest suit to have her company the remaining part of the summer; which was granted, upon a promise of her return at Michaelmas.'

Milton was too busy to much miss his wife; he pursued his studies, and now and then visited the Lady Margaret Leigh, whom he has mentioned in one of his sonnets. At last Michaelmas arrived; but the lady had no inclination to return to the sullen gloom of her husband's habitation, and therefore very willingly forgot her promise. He sent her a letter, but had no answer; he sent more with the same success. It could be alleged that letters miscarry; he therefore despatched a messenger, being by this time too angry to go himself. His messenger was sent back with some contempt. The family of the lady were Cavaliers.

In a man whose opinion of his own merit was like Milton's, less provocation than this might have raised violent resentment. Milton soon determined to repudiate her for disobedience; and, being one of those who could easily find arguments to justify inclination, published (in 1644) 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,' which was followed by the 'Judgment of Martin Bucer, concerning Divorce,' and the next year his 'Tetrachordon, Expositions upon the four chief Places of Scripture which treat of Marriage.'

This innovation was opposed, as might be expected, by the clergy, who, then holding their famous assembly at Westminster, procured that the author should be called before the Lords; 'but that house,' says Wood, 'whether approving the doctrine, or not favouring his accusers, did soon dismiss him.'

There seems not to have been much written against him, nor anything by any writer of eminence. The antagonist that appeared is styled by him, 'a serving man turned solicitor.' Howel, in his Letters, mentions the new doctrine

with contempt; and it was, I suppose, thought more worthy of derision than of confutation. He complains of this neglect in two sonnets, of which the first is contemptible, and the second not excellent.

From this time it is observed that he became an enemy to the Presbyterians, whom he had favoured before. He that changes his party by his humour is not more virtuous than he that changes it by his interest; he loves himself rather than truth.

His wife and her relations now found that Milton was not an unresisting sufferer of injuries; and perceiving that he had begun to put his doctrine in practice, by courting a young woman of great accomplishments, the daughter of one Doctor Davis, who was however not ready to comply, they resolved to endeavour a reunion. He went sometimes to the house of one Blackborough, his relation, in the lane of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and at one of his usual visits was surprised to see his wife come from another room, and implore forgiveness on her knees. He resisted her entreaties for a while; 'but partly,' says Phillips, 'his own generous nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to perseverance in anger or revenge, and partly the strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an act of oblivion and a fair league of peace.' It were injurious to omit that Milton afterwards received her father and her brothers in his own house, when they were distressed, with other Royalists.

He published about the same time his 'Areopagitica, a speech of Mr. John Milton for the liberty of unlicensed Printing.' The danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science of government, which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. If nothing may be published but

what civil authority shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth; if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace; and if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is to punish the authors; for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions which that society shall think pernicious; but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book; and it seems not more reasonable to leave the right of printing unrestrained because writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang a thief.

But whatever were his engagements, civil or domestic, poetry was never long out of his thoughts.

About this time (1645) a collection of his Latin and English poems appeared, in which the 'Allegro' and 'Penseroso,' with some others, were first published.

He had taken a larger house in Barbican for the reception of scholars; but the numerous relations of his wife, to whom he generously granted refuge for a while, occupied his rooms. In time, however, they went away; 'and the house again,' says Phillips, 'now looked like a house of the Muses only, though the accession of scholars was not great. Possibly his having proceeded thus far in the education of youth may have been the occasion of his adversaries calling him pedagogue and schoolmaster; whereas it is well known he never set up for a public school, to teach all the young fry of a parish, but only was willing to impart his learning and knowledge to his relations, and the sons of gentlemen that were his intimate friends, and that neither his converse, nor his writings *nor* his manner of teaching savoured in the least of pedantry.'

Thus laboriously does his nephew extenuate what cannot be denied, and what might be confessed without disgrace. Milton was not a man who could become mean by a mean employment. This, however, his warmest friends seem not to have found; they therefore shift and palliate. He did not sell literature to all comers at an open shop; he was a chamber-milliner, and measured his commodities only to his friends.

Phillips, evidently impatient of viewing him in this state of degradation, tells us that it was not long continued; and, to raise his character again, has a mind to invest him with military splendour: 'He is much mistaken,' he says, 'if there was not about this time a design of making him an adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But the new-modelling of the army proved an obstruction to the design.' An event cannot be set at a much greater distance than by having been only 'designed, about some time,' if a man 'be not much mistaken.' Milton shall be a pedagogue no longer; for, if Phillips be not much mistaken, somebody at some time designed him for a soldier.

About the time that the army was new-modelled (1645), he removed to a smaller house in Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's Inn Fields. He is not known to have published anything afterwards till the king's death, when, finding his murderers condemned by the Presbyterians, he wrote a treatise to justify it, 'and to compose the minds of the people.'

He made some remarks on the Articles of Peace between Ormond and the Irish rebels. While he contented himself to write, he perhaps did only what his conscience dictated; and if he did not very vigilantly watch the influence of his own passions, and the gradual prevalence of opinions, first willingly admitted, and then habitually indulged; if objections,

by being overlooked, were forgotten, and desire superinduced conviction, he yet shared only the common weakness of mankind, and might be no less sincere than his opponents. But, as faction seldom leaves a man honest, however it might find him, Milton is suspected of having interpolated the book called 'Icon Basilike,' which the council of state, to whom he was now made Latin Secretary, employed him to censure, by inserting a prayer taken from Sidney's 'Arcadia,' and imputing it to the king, whom he charges, in his 'Iconoclastes,' with the use of this prayer, as with a heavy crime, in the indecent language with which prosperity had emboldened the advocates for rebellion to insult all that is venerable or great: 'Who would have imagined so little fear in him of the true all-seeing deity—as, immediately before his death, to pop into the hands of the grave bishop that attended him, as a special relic of his saintly exercises, a prayer stolen word for word from the mouth of a heathen woman praying to a heathen god?'

The papers which the king gave to Dr. Juxon on the scaffold the regicides took away; so that they were at least the publishers of this prayer; and Dr. Birch, who had examined the question with great care, was inclined to think them the forgers. The use of it by adaptation was innocent, and they who could so noisily censure it, with a little extension of their malice could contrive what they wanted to accuse.

King Charles the Second, being now sheltered in Holland, employed Salmasius, professor of polite learning at Leyden, to write a defence of his father and of monarchy; and, to excite his industry, gave him, as was reported, a hundred Jacobuses. Salmasius was a man of skill in languages, *knowledge of antiquity*, and sagacity of emendatory criticism, *almost exceeding* all hope of human attainment; and having,

by excessive praises, been confirmed in great confidence of himself, though he probably had not much considered the principles of society or the right of government, undertook the employment without distrust of his own qualifications; and, as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 published 'Defensio Regis.'

To this Milton was required to write a sufficient answer; which he performed (1651) in such a manner, that Hobbes declared himself unable to decide whose language was best, or whose arguments were worst. In my opinion, Milton's periods are smoother, neater, and more pointed; but he delights himself with teasing his adversary as much as with confuting him. He makes a foolish allusion of Salmasius, whose doctrine he considers as servile and unmanly, to the stream of Salmasius, which, whoever entered, left half his virility behind him. Salmasius was a Frenchman, and was unhappily married to a scold. *Tu es Gallus*, says Milton, *et, ut aiunt, nimium gallinaceus.* But his supreme pleasure is to tax his adversary, so renowned for criticism, with vicious Latin. He opens his book with telling that he has used *Persona*, which, according to Milton, signifies only a *Mask*, in a sense not known to the Romans, by applying it as we apply *Person.* But as Nemesis is always on the watch, it is memorable that he has enforced the charge of a solecism by an expression in itself grossly solecistical, when for one of those supposed blunders, he says, as Ker, and I think some one before him, has remarked, *propino te grammatistis tuis vapulandum.* From *vapulo*, which has a passive sense, *vapulandus* can never be derived. No man forgets his original trade: the rights of nations, and of kings, sink into questions of grammar, if grammarians discuss them.

Milton, when he undertook this answer, was weak of body and dim *of sight;* but his will was forward, and what was

wanting of health was supplied by zeal. He was rewarded with a thousand pounds, and his book was much read; for paradox, recommended by spirit and elegance, easily gains attention; and he, who told every man that he was equal to his king, could hardly want an audience.

That the performance of Salmasius was not dispersed with equal rapidity, or read with equal eagerness, is very credible. He taught only the stale doctrine of authority, and the unpleasing duty of submission; and he had been so long not only the monarch, but the tyrant of literature, that almost all mankind were delighted to find him defied and insulted by a new name, not yet considered as any one's rival. If Christina, as is said, commended the defence of the people, her purpose must be to torment Salmasius, who was then at court; for neither her civil station, nor her natural character, could dispose her to favour the doctrine, who was by birth a queen, and by temper despotic.

That Salmasius was, from the appearance of Milton's book, treated with neglect, there is not much proof; but to a man, so long accustomed to admiration, a little praise of his antagonist would be sufficiently offensive, and might incline him to leave Sweden, from which however he was dismissed, not with any mark of contempt, but with a train of attendance scarce less than regal.

He prepared a reply, which, left as it was imperfect, was published by his son in the year of the Restoration. In the beginning, being probably most in pain for his Latinity, he endeavours to defend his use of the word *persona*; but, if I remember right, he misses a better authority than any that he has found, that of Juvenal in his fourth satire:

> — Quid agis cum dira et foedior omni
> Crimine *persona* est?

As Salmasius reproached Milton with losing his eyes in

the quarrel, Milton delighted himself with the belief that he had shortened Salmasius's life, and both perhaps with more malignity than reason. Salmasius died at the Spa, Sept. 3, 1653; and, as controvertists are commonly said to be killed by their last dispute, Milton was flattered with the credit of destroying him.

Cromwell had now dismissed the parliament by the authority of which he had destroyed monarchy, and commenced monarch himself, under the title of Protector, but with kingly and more than kingly power. That his authority was lawful, never was pretended; he himself founded his right only in necessity; but Milton, having now tasted the honey of public employment, would not return to hunger and philosophy, but, continuing to exercise his office under a manifest usurpation, betrayed to his power that liberty which he had defended. Nothing can be more just than that rebellion should end in slavery; that he who had justified the murder of his king, for some acts which seemed to him unlawful, should now sell his services, and his flatteries, to a tyrant, of whom it was evident that he could do nothing lawful.

He had now been blind for some years; but his vigour of intellect was such, that he was not disabled to discharge his office of Latin secretary, or continue his controversies. His mind was too eager to be diverted, and too strong to be subdued.

About this time his first wife died in childbed, having left him three daughters. As he probably did not much love her, he did not long continue the appearance of lamenting her; but after a short time married Catharine, the daughter of one Captain Woodcock, of Hackney, a woman doubtless educated in opinions like his own. She died, within a year, of childbirth, or some distemper that followed it; and her husband honoured her memory with a poor sonnet.

The first reply to Milton's 'Defensio Populi' was published in 1651, called 'Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni) defensionem destructivam Regis et Populi.' Of this the author was not known; but Milton and his nephew Phillips, under whose name he published an answer, so much corrected by him that it might be called his own, imputed it to Bramhal; and, knowing him no friend to regicides, thought themselves at liberty to treat him as if they had known what they only suspected.

Next year appeared 'Regii Sanguinis clamor ad Coelum.' Of this the author was Peter du Moulin, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury; but Morus, or More, a French minister, having the care of its publication, was treated as the writer by Milton, in his 'Defensio Secunda,' and overwhelmed by such violence of invective, that he began to shrink under the tempest, and gave his persecutors the means of knowing the true author. Du Moulin was now in great danger; but Milton's pride operated against his malignity; and both he and his friends were more willing that Du Moulin should escape, than that he should be convicted of mistake.

In this second Defence he shows that his eloquence is not merely satirical; the rudeness of his invective is equalled by the grossness of his flattery. *Deserimur, Cromuelle, tu solus superes, ad te summa nostrarum rerum rediit, in te solo consistit, insuperabili tuae virtuti cedimus cuncti, nemine vel obloquente, nisi qui aequales inaequalis ipse honores sibi quaerit, aut digniori concessos invidet, aut non intelligit nihil esse in societate hominum magis vel Deo gratum, vel rationi consentaneum, esse in civitate nihil aequius, nihil utilius, quam potiri rerum dignissimum. Eum te agnoscunt omnes, Cromuelle, ea tu civis maximus, et gloriosissimus, dux* publici consilii, exercituum

fortissimorum imperator, pater patriae gessisti. Sic tu spontanea bonorum omnium et animitus missa voce salutaris.

Caesar, when he assumed the perpetual dictatorship, had not more servile or more elegant flattery. A translation may show its servility; but its elegance is less attainable. Having exposed the unskilfulness or selfishness of the former government, 'We were left,' says Milton, 'to ourselves: the whole national interest fell into your hands, and subsists only in your abilities. To your virtue, overpowering and resistless, every man gives way, except some who, without equal qualifications, aspire to equal honours, who envy the distinctions of merit greater than their own, or who have yet to learn, that in the coalition of human society nothing is more pleasing to God, or more agreeable to reason, than that the highest mind should have the sovereign power. Such, sir, are you by general confession; such are the things achieved by you, the greatest and most glorious of our countrymen, the director of our public councils, the leader of unconquered armies, the father of your country; for by that title does every good man hail you with sincere and voluntary praise.'

Next year, having defended all that wanted defence, he found leisure to defend himself. He undertook his own vindication against More, whom he declares in his title to be justly called the author of the 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor.' In this there is no want of vehemence nor eloquence, nor does he forget his wonted wit. *Morus es? an Momus? an uterque idem est?* He then remembers that Morus is Latin for a mulberry-tree, and hints at the known transformation:

—Poma alba ferebat
Quae post nigra tulit Morus.

With this piece ended his controversies; and he from

this time gave himself up to his private studies and his civil employment.

As secretary to the Protector he is supposed to have written the Declaration of the reasons for a war with Spain. His agency was considered as of great importance; for, when a treaty with Sweden was artfully suspended, the delay was publicly imputed to Mr. Milton's indisposition; and the Swedish agent was provoked to express his wonder that only one man in England could write Latin, and that man blind.

Being now forty-seven years old, and seeing himself disencumbered from external interruptions, he seems to have recollected his former purposes, and to have resumed three great works which he had planned for his future employment—an epic poem, the history of his country, and a dictionary of the Latin tongue.

To collect a dictionary seems a work of all others least practicable in a state of blindness, because it depends upon perpetual and minute inspection and collation. Nor would Milton probably have begun it, after he had lost his eyes; but, having had it always before him, he continued it, says Phillips, 'even very near to his dying day; but the papers were so discomposed and deficient, that it could not be made fit for the press.' The compilers of the Latin dictionary, printed at Cambridge, had the use of those collections in three folios; but what was their fate afterwards is not known.

To compile a history from various authors, when they can only be consulted by other eyes, is not easy, nor possible, but with more skilful and attentive help than can be commonly obtained; and it was probably the difficulty of consulting and comparing that stopped Milton's narrative at the Conquest—a period at which affairs were not very intricate, nor authors very numerous.

For the subject of his epic poem, after much deliberation, 'long choosing, and beginning late,' he fixed upon 'Paradise Lost,' a design so comprehensive, that it could be justified only by success. He had once designed to celebrate King Arthur, as he hints in his verses to Mansus; but 'Arthur was reserved,' says Fenton, 'to another destiny.'

It appears, by some sketches of poetical projects left in manuscript, and to be seen in a library at Cambridge, that he had digested his thoughts on this subject into one of those wild dramas which were anciently called Mysteries; and Phillips had seen what he terms part of a tragedy, beginning with the first ten lines of Satan's address to the Sun. These mysteries consist of allegorical persons, such as Justice, Mercy, Faith. Of the tragedy or mystery of 'Paradise Lost' there are two plans:—

The Persons.	*The Persons.*
Michael.	Moses.
Chorus of Angels.	Divine Justice, Wisdom, Heavenly Love.
Heavenly Love.	The Evening Star, Hesperus.
Lucifer.	Chorus of Angels.
Adam, Eve, with the Serpent.	Lucifer.
Conscience.	Adam.
Death.	Eve.
Labour, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, with others; Mutes.	Conscience.
Faith.	Labour, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, Fear, Death, Mutes.
Hope.	Faith.
Charity.	Hope.
	Charity.

Paradise Lost.

The Persons.

Moses προλογίζει, recounting how he assumed his true body; that it corrupts not, because it is with God in the mount; declares the like with Enoch and Elijah; besides the purity of the place, that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds, preserve it from corruption; whence exhorts to the sight of God; tells they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence, by reason of their sin.

Justice, Mercy, Wisdom, } debating what should become of man, if he fall.

Chorus of Angels singing a hymn of the Creation.

ACT II.

Heavenly Love.

Evening Star.

Chorus sing the marriage-song, and describe Paradise.

ACT III.

Lucifer contriving Adam's ruin.

Chorus fears for Adam, and relates Lucifer's rebellion and fall.

ACT IV.

Adam, Eve, } fallen.

Conscience cites them to God's examination.

Chorus bewails, and tells the good Adam has lost.

ACT V.

Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise.

———— presented by an angel with

Labour, Grief, Hatred, Envy, War, Famine, Pestilence, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, Fear, Death, } Mutes.

To whom he gives their names. Likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest, etc.

Faith,
Hope, } comfort him and instruct him.
Charity,

Chorus briefly concludes.

Such was his first design, which could have produced only an allegory or mystery. The following sketch seems to have attained more maturity:—

ADAM UNPARADISED.

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering; showing, since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth as in heaven; describes Paradise. Next the Chorus, showing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise, after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from God; and withal expressing his desire to see and know more concerning this excellent new creature, man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the Chorus, and, desired by them, relates what he knew of man; as the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage. After this, Lucifer appears; after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man. The Chorus prepare resistance on his first approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he departs: whereat the Chorus sings of the battle and victory in Heaven, against him and his accomplices: as before, after the first act, was sung a hymn of the creation. Here again may appear Lucifer, relating and exulting in what he had done to the destruction of man. Man next, and Eve having by this time been seduced by the serpent, appears confusedly covered with leaves. Conscience, in a shape, accuses him; Justice cites

him to the place whither Jehovah called for him. In the meanwhile, the Chorus entertains the stage, and is informed by some angel the manner of the fall. Here the Chorus bewails Adam's fall; Adam then and Eve return; accuse one another; but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife; is stubborn in his offence. Justice appears, reasons with him, convinces him. The Chorus admonishes Adam, and bids him beware of Lucifer's example of impenitence. The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise; but before causes to pass before his eyes, in shapes, a mask of all the evils of this life and world. He is humbled, relents, despairs; at last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity; instructs him; he repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The Chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draft.

These are very imperfect rudiments of 'Paradise Lost'; but it is pleasant to see great works in their seminal state, pregnant with latent possibilities of excellence; nor could there be any more delightful entertainment than to trace their gradual growth and expansion, and to observe how they are sometimes suddenly advanced by accidental hints, and sometimes slowly improved by steady meditation.

Invention is almost the only literary labour which blindness cannot obstruct, and therefore he naturally solaced his solitude by the indulgence of his fancy, and the melody of his numbers. He had done what he knew to be necessarily previous to poetical excellence; he had made himself acquainted with 'seemly arts and affairs'; his comprehension was extended by various knowledge, and his *memory stored* with intellectual treasures. He was skilful *in many languages*, and had, by reading and composition,

attained the full mastery of his own. He would have wanted little help from books, had he retained the power of perusing them.

But while his greater designs were advancing, having now, like many other authors, caught the love of publication, he amused himself, as he could, with little productions. He sent to the press (1658) a manuscript of Raleigh, called 'The Cabinet Council'; and next year gratified his malevolence to the clergy by a 'treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases, and the means of removing Hirelings out of the Church.'

Oliver was now dead; Richard was constrained to resign; the system of extemporary government, which had been held together only by force, naturally fell into fragments when that force was taken away; and Milton saw himself and his cause in equal danger. But he had still hope of doing something. He wrote letters, which Toland has published, to such men as he thought friends to the new commonwealth; and even in the year of the Restoration he 'bated no jot of heart or hope,' but was fantastical enough to think that the nation, agitated as it was, might be settled by a pamphlet, called 'A Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth'; which was, however, enough considered to be both seriously and ludicrously answered.

The obstinate enthusiasm of the commonwealth-men was very remarkable. When the king was apparently returning, Harrington, with a few associates as fantastical as himself, used to meet, with all the gravity of political importance, to settle an equal government by rotation; and Milton, kicking when he could strike no longer, was foolish enough to publish, a few weeks before the Restoration, *Notes upon a Sermon* preached by one Griffiths, entitled,

'The Fear of God and the King.' To these notes an answer was written by L'Estrange, in a pamphlet petulantly called 'No Blind Guides.'

But whatever Milton could write, or men of greater activity could do, the king was now about to be restored with the irresistible approbation of the people. He was therefore no longer secretary, and was consequently obliged to quit the house which he held by his office; and, proportioning his sense of danger to his opinion of the importance of his writings, thought it convenient to seek some shelter, and hid himself for a time in Bartholomew Close, by West Smithfield.

I cannot but remark a kind of respect, perhaps unconsciously paid to this great man by his biographers: every house in which he resided is historically mentioned, as if it were an injury to neglect naming any place that he honoured by his presence.

The king, with lenity of which the world has had perhaps no other example, declined to be the judge or avenger of his own or his father's wrongs; and promised to admit into the Act of Oblivion all except those whom the Parliament should except; and the Parliament doomed none to capital punishment but the wretches who had immediately co-operated in the murder of the king. Milton was certainly not one of them; he had only justified what they had done.

This justification was indeed sufficiently offensive; and (June 16) an order was issued to seize Milton's 'Defence,' and Goodwin's 'Obstructors of Justice,' another book of the same tendency, and burn them by the common hangman. The attorney-general was ordered to prosecute the authors; but Milton was not seized, nor perhaps very diligently pursued.

Not long after (August 19) the flutter of innumerable bosoms was stilled by an Act, which the king, that his mercy might want no recommendation of elegance, rather called an Act of Oblivion than of Grace. Goodwin was named, with nineteen more, as incapacitated for any public trust; but of Milton there was no exception.

Of this tenderness shown to Milton the curiosity of mankind has not forborne to inquire the reason. Burnet thinks he was forgotten; but this is another instance which may confirm Dalrymple's observation, who says, 'that whenever Burnet's narrations are examined, he appears to be mistaken.'

Forgotten he was not; for his prosecution was ordered; it must be therefore by design that he was included in the general oblivion. He is said to have had friends in the House, such as Marvell, Morrice, and Sir Thomas Clarges: and undoubtedly a man like him must have had influence. A very particular story of his escape is told by Richardson in his Memoirs, which he received from Pope, as delivered by Betterton, who might have heard it from Davenant. In the war between the King and Parliament, Davenant was made prisoner and condemned to die; but was spared at the request of Milton. When the turn of success brought Milton into the like danger, Davenant repaid the benefit by appearing in his favour. Here is a reciprocation of generosity and gratitude so pleasing, that the tale makes its own way to credit. But if help were wanted, I know not where to find it. The danger of Davenant is certain from his own relation; but of his escape there is no account. Betterton's narration can be traced no higher; it is not known that he had it from Davenant. We are told that the benefit exchanged was life for life; but it seems not certain that Milton's life ever was in danger. Goodwin,

who had committed the same kind of crime, escaped with incapacitation; and, as exclusion from public trust is a punishment which the power of Government can commonly inflict without the help of a particular law, it required no great interest to exempt Milton from a censure little more than verbal. Something may be reasonably ascribed to veneration and compassion; to veneration of his abilities, and compassion for his distresses, which made it fit to forgive his malice for his learning. He was now poor and blind; and who would pursue with violence an illustrious enemy, depressed by fortune and disarmed by nature?

The publication of the 'Act of Oblivion' put him in the same condition with his fellow-subjects. He was, however, upon some pretence now not known, in the custody of the serjeant in December; and when he was released, upon his refusal of the fees demanded, he and the serjeant were called before the house. He was now safe within the shade of oblivion, and knew himself to be as much out of the power of a griping officer as any other man. How the question was determined is not known. Milton would hardly have contended but that he knew himself to have right on his side.

He then removed to Jewin Street, near Aldersgate Street; and, being blind and by no means wealthy, wanted a domestic companion and attendant; and therefore, by the recommendation of Dr. Paget, married Elizabeth Minshull, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire, probably without a fortune. All his wives were virgins; for he has declared that he thought it gross and indelicate to be a second husband: upon what other principles his choice was made cannot now be known; but marriage afforded not much of his happiness. The first wife left him in disgust, and was brought back only by terror; the second, indeed,

seems to have been more a favourite, but her life was short. The third, as Phillips relates, oppressed his children in his lifetime and cheated them at his death.

Soon after his marriage, according to an obscure story, he was offered the continuance of his employment, and, being pressed by his wife to accept it, answered, 'You, like other women, want to ride in your coach; my wish is to live and die an honest man.' If he considered the Latin secretary as exercising any of the powers of government, he that had shared authority, either with the Parliament or Cromwell, might have forborne to talk very loudly of his honesty; and if he thought the office purely ministerial, he certainly might have honestly retained it under the King. But this tale has too little evidence to deserve a disquisition; large offers and sturdy rejections are among the most common topics of falsehood.

He had so much either of prudence or gratitude, that he forbore to disturb the new settlement with any of his political or ecclesiastical opinions, and from this time devoted himself to poetry and literature. Of his zeal for learning in all its parts, he gave a proof by publishing, the next year (1661), 'Accidence commenced Grammar'; a little book which has nothing remarkable, but that its author, who had been lately defending the supreme powers of his country, and was then writing 'Paradise Lost,' could descend from his elevation to rescue children from the perplexity of grammatical confusion, and the trouble of lessons unnecessarily repeated.

About this time, Ellwood the Quaker, being recommended to him as one who would read Latin to him for the advantage of his conversation, attended him every afternoon except on Sundays. Milton, who, in his letter to Hartlib, had declared, that 'to read Latin with an English mouth is

as ill a hearing as Law French,' required that Ellwood should learn and practise the Italian pronunciation, which, he said, was necessary, if he would talk with foreigners. This seems to have been a task troublesome without use. There is little reason for preferring the Italian pronunciation to our own, except that it is more general; and to teach it to an Englishman is only to make him a foreigner at home. He who travels, if he speaks Latin, may so soon learn the sounds which every native gives it, that he need make no provision before his journey; and if strangers visit us, it is their business to practise such conformity to our modes as they expect from us in their own countries. Ellwood complied with the directions, and improved himself by his attendance; for he relates, that Milton, having a curious ear, knew by his voice when he read what he did not understand, and would stop him, and 'open the most difficult passages.'

In a short time he took a house in the Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill Fields; the mention of which concludes the register of Milton's removals and habitations. He lived longer in this place than any other.

He was now busied by 'Paradise Lost.' Whence he drew the original design has been variously conjectured by men who cannot bear to think themselves ignorant of that which, at last, neither diligence nor sagacity can discover. Some find the hint in an Italian tragedy. Voltaire tells a wild and unauthorised story of a farce seen by Milton in Italy which opened thus: 'Let the Rainbow be the Fiddlestick of the Fiddle of Heaven.' It has been already shown, that the first conception was a tragedy or mystery, not of a narrative, but a dramatic work which he is supposed to have begun to reduce to its present form about the time (1655) when he finished his dispute with the defenders of the king.

He long had promised to adorn his native country by some great performance, while he had yet perhaps no settled design, and was stimulated only by such expectations as naturally arose from the survey of his attainments, and the consciousness of his powers. What he should undertake it was difficult to determine. He was 'long choosing, and began late.'

While he was obliged to divide his time between his private studies and affairs of state, his poetical labour must have been often interrupted; and perhaps he did little more in that busy time than construct the narrative, adjust the episodes, proportion the parts, accumulate images and sentiments, and treasure in his memory, or preserve in writing, such hints as books or meditation would supply. Nothing particular is known of his intellectual operations while he was a statesman; for, having every help and accommodation at hand, he had no need of uncommon expedients.

Being driven from all public stations, he is yet too great not to be traced by curiosity to his retirement; where he has been found by Mr. Richardson, the fondest of his admirers, sitting before his door in a grey coat of coarse cloth, in warm sultry weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and so, as in his own room, receiving the visits of people of distinguished parts as well as quality. His visitors of high quality must now be imagined to be few; but men of parts might reasonably court the conversation of a man so generally illustrious, that foreigners are reported, by Wood, to have visited the house in Bread Street where he was born.

According to another account, he was seen in a small house, neatly enough dressed in black clothes, sitting in a room hung with rusty green; pale but not cadaverous, with chalkstones in his hands. He said that, if it were not for the gout, his blindness would be tolerable.

In the intervals of his pain, being made unable to use the common exercises, he used to swing in a chair, and sometimes played upon an organ.

He was now confessedly and visibly employed upon his poem, of which the progress might be noted by those with whom he was familiar; for he was obliged, when he had composed as many lines as his memory would conveniently retain, to employ some friends in writing them, having, at least, for part of the time, no regular attendant. This gave opportunity to observations and reports.

Mr. Phillips observes, that there was a very remarkable circumstance in the composure of 'Paradise Lost,' 'which I have a particular reason,' says he, 'to remember; for whereas I had the perusal of it from the very beginning, for some years, as I went from time to time to visit him, in parcels of ten, twenty, or thirty verses at a time (which, being written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction as to the orthography and pointing), having, as the summer came on, not been showed any for a considerable while, and desiring the reason thereof, was answered, that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal; and that whatever he attempted at other times was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much; so that, in all the years he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent half his time therein.'

Upon this relation Toland remarks, that in his opinion Phillips has mistaken the time of the year; for Milton, in his Elegies, declares, that with the advance of the spring he feels the increase of his poetical force, *redeunt in carmina vires.* To this it is answered, that Phillips could hardly mistake time so well marked; and it may be added, that Milton might *find different times* of the year favourable to different parts of *life.* Mr. Richardson conceives it impossible that 'such a

work should be suspended for six months, or for one. It may go on faster or slower, but it must go on.' By what necessity it must continually go on, or why it might not be laid aside and resumed, it is not easy to discover.

This dependence of the soul upon the seasons, those temporary and periodical ebbs and flows of intellect, may, I suppose, justly be derided as the fumes of vain imagination. *Sapiens dominabitur astris.* The author that thinks himself weather-bound will find, with a little help from hellebore, that he is only idle or exhausted. But while this notion has possession of the head, it produces the inability which it supposes. Our powers owe much of their energy to our hopes; *possunt quia posse videntur.* When success seems attainable, diligence is enforced; but when it is admitted that the faculties are suppressed by a cross wind, or a cloudy sky, the day is given up without resistance; for who can contend with the course of nature?

From such prepossessions Milton seems not to have been free. There prevailed in his time an opinion, that the world was in its decay, and that we have had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of nature. It was suspected that the whole creation languished, that neither trees nor animals had the height or bulk of their predecessors, and that everything was daily sinking by gradual diminution. Milton appears to suspect that souls partake of the general degeneracy, and is not without some fear that his book is to be written in 'an age too late' for heroic poesy.

Another opinion wanders about the world, and sometimes finds reception among wise men; an opinion that restrains the operations of the mind to particular regions, and supposes that a luckless mortal may be born in a degree of latitude too high or too low for wisdom or for wit. From this fancy, *wild as it is, he* had not wholly cleared his head, when

he feared lest the 'climate' of his country might be 'too cold' for flights of imagination.

Into a mind already occupied by such fancies, another, not more reasonable, might easily find its way. He that could fear lest his genius had fallen upon too old a world, or too chill a climate, might consistently magnify to himself the influence of the seasons, and believe his faculties to be vigorous only half the year.

His submission to the seasons was at least more reasonable than his dread of decaying nature, or a frigid zone, for general causes must operate uniformly in a general abatement of mental power; if less could be performed by the writer, less likewise would content the judges of his work. Among this lagging race of frosty grovellers he might still have risen into eminence by producing something which 'they should not willingly let die.' However inferior to the heroes who were born in better ages, he might still be great among his contemporaries, with the hope of growing every day greater in the dwindle of posterity. He might still be the giant of the pigmies, the one-eyed monarch of the blind.

Of his artifices of study, or particular hours of composition, we have little account, and there was perhaps little to be told. Richardson, who seems to have been very diligent in his inquiries, but discovers always a wish to find Milton discriminated from other men, relates that he would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verse could he make; and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an *impetus* or *oestrum*, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came. At other times he would dictate perhaps forty lines in a breath, and then reduce them to half the number.

These bursts of light, and involutions of darkness, these

transient and involuntary excursions and retrocessions of invention, having some appearance of deviation from the common train of nature, are eagerly caught by the lovers of a wonder. Yet something of this inequality happens to every man in every mode of exertion, manual or mental. The mechanic cannot handle his hammer and his file at all times with equal dexterity; there are hours, he knows not why, when 'his hand is out.' By Mr. Richardson's relation, casually conveyed, much regard cannot be claimed. That, in his intellectual hour, Milton called for his daughter 'to secure what came,' may be questioned; for unluckily it happens to be known that his daughters were never taught to write; nor would he have been obliged, as is universally confessed, to have employed any casual visitor in disburthening his memory, if his daughter could have performed the office.

The story of reducing his exuberance has been told of other authors; and, though doubtless true of every fertile and copious mind, seems to have been gratuitously transferred to Milton.

What he has told us, and we cannot now know more, is, that he composed much of his poem in the night and morning, I suppose before his mind was disturbed with common business; and that he poured out with great fluency his 'unpremeditated verse.' Versification, free, like this, from the distresses of rhyme, must, by a work so long, be made prompt and habitual; and, when his thoughts were once adjusted, the words would come at his command.

At what particular times of his life the parts of his work were written, cannot often be known. The beginning of the third book shows that he had lost his sight, and the introduction to the seventh, that the return of the king had clouded him with discountenance; and that he was offended by the licentious festivity of the Restoration. There are no

other internal notes of time. Milton, being now cleared from all effects of his disloyalty, had nothing required from him but the common duty of living in quiet, to be rewarded with the common right of protection; but this, which, when he skulked from the approach of his king, was perhaps more than he hoped, seems not to have satisfied him; for no sooner is he safe, than he finds himself in danger, 'fallen on evil days and evil tongues, and with darkness and with danger compassed round.' This darkness, had his eyes been better employed, had undoubtedly deserved compassion; but to add the mention of danger was ungrateful and unjust. He was fallen indeed on 'evil days'; the time was come in which regicides could no longer boast their wickedness. But of 'evil tongues' for Milton to complain, required impudence at least equal to his other powers; Milton, whose warmest advocates must allow that he never spared any asperity of reproach or brutality of insolence.

But the charge itself seems to be false; for it would be hard to recollect any reproach cast upon him, either serious or ludicrous, through the whole remaining part of his life. He pursued his studies or his amusements, without persecution, molestation, or insult. Such is the reverence paid to great abilities, however misused; they, who contemplated in Milton the scholar and the wit, were contented to forget the reviler of his king.

When the plague (1665) raged in London, Milton took refuge at Chalfont, in Bucks; where Ellwood, who had taken the house for him, first saw a complete copy of 'Paradise Lost,' and, having perused it, said to him, 'Thou hast said a great deal upon Paradise Lost; what hast thou to say upon Paradise Found?'

Next year, when the danger of infection had ceased, he returned to Bunhill Fields, and designed the publication of

his poem. A license was necessary, and he could expect no great kindness from a chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He seems, however, to have been treated with tenderness; for, though objections were made to particular passages, and among them to the simile of the sun eclipsed in the first book, yet the license was granted; and he sold his copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel Simmons, for an immediate payment of five pounds, with a stipulation to receive five pounds more when thirteen hundred should be sold of the first edition; and again, five pounds after the sale of the same number of the second edition; and another five pounds after the same sale of the third. None of the three editions were to be extended beyond fifteen hundred copies.

The first edition was ten books, in a small quarto. The titles were varied from year to year; and an advertisement and the arguments of the books were omitted in some copies, and inserted in others.

The sale gave him in two years a right to his second payment, for which the receipt was signed April 26, 1669. The second edition was not given till 1674; it was printed in small octavo; and the number of books was increased to twelve, by a division of the seventh and twelfth; and some other small improvements were made. The third edition was published in 1678; and the widow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, sold all her claims to Simmons for eight pounds, according to her receipt given December 21, 1680. Simmons had already agreed to transfer the whole right to Brabazon Aylmer for £25; and Aylmer sold to Jacob Tonson half, August 17, 1683, and half, March 24, 1690, at a price considerably enlarged. In the history of 'Paradise Lost' a deduction thus minute will rather gratify than fatigue.

The slow sale and tardy reputation of this poem have been always mentioned as evidences of neglected merit, and of the uncertainty of literary fame; and inquiries have been made, and conjectures offered, about the causes of its long obscurity and late reception. But has the case been truly stated? Have not lamentation and wonder been lavished on an evil that was never felt?

That in the reigns of Charles and James the 'Paradise Lost' received no public acclamations is readily confessed. Wit and literature were on the side of the court: and who that solicited favour or fashion would venture to praise the defender of the regicides? All that he himself could think his due, from 'evil tongues' in 'evil days,' was that reverential silence which was generously preserved. But it cannot be inferred that his poem was not read, or not, however unwillingly, admired.

The sale, if it be considered, will justify the public. Those who have no power to judge of past times but by their own, should always doubt their conclusions. The call for books was not, in Milton's age, what it is at present. To read was not then a general amusement; neither traders, nor often gentlemen, thought themselves disgraced by ignorance. The women had not then aspired to literature, nor was every house supplied with a closet of knowledge. Those, indeed, who professed learning, were not less learned than at any other time; but of that middle race of students who read for pleasure or accomplishment, and who buy the numerous products of modern typography, the number was then comparatively small. To prove the paucity of readers, it may be sufficient to remark, that the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664—that is, forty-one years—with only two editions of the works of Shakespeare, which probably did not together make one thousand copies.

The sale of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style of versification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius. The demand did not immediately increase; for many more readers than were supplied at first the nation did not afford. Only three thousand were sold in eleven years, for it forced its way without assistance; its admirers did not dare to publish their opinion; and the opportunities now given of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few; the means of proclaiming the publication of new books have been produced by that general literature which now pervades the nation through all its ranks.

But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and 'Paradise Lost' broke into open view with sufficient security of kind reception.

Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton surveyed the silent progress of his work, and marked its reputation stealing its way in a kind of subterraneous current through fear and silence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with steady consciousness, and waiting without impatience the vicissitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation.

In the meantime he continued his studies, and supplied the want of sight by a very odd expedient, of which Phillips gives the following account:—

Mr. Phillips tells us, 'that though our author had daily about him one or other to read, some person of man's estate, who, of their own accord, greedily catched at the opportunity of being his readers, that they might as well reap the benefit *of what they read* to him, as oblige him by the benefit of

their reading; and others of younger years were sent by their parents to the same end; yet excusing only the eldest daughter by reason of her bodily infirmity and difficult utterance of speech (which, to say truth, I doubt was the principal cause of excusing her), the other two were condemned to the performance of reading and exactly pronouncing of all the languages of whatever book he should, at one time or other, think fit to peruse, viz. the Hebrew (and I think the Syriac), the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, Spanish, and French. All which sorts of books to be confined to read, without understanding one word, must needs be a trial of patience almost beyond endurance. Yet it was endured by both for a long time, though the irksomeness of this employment could not be always concealed, but broke out more and more into expressions of uneasiness; so that at length they were all, even the eldest also, sent out to learn some curious and ingenious sorts of manufacture, that are proper for women to learn, particularly embroideries in gold or silver.'

In the scene of misery which this mode of intellectual labour sets before our eyes, it is hard to determine whether the daughters or the father are most to be lamented. A language not understood can never be so read as to give pleasure, and very seldom so as to convey meaning. If few men would have had resolution to write books with such embarrassments, few likewise would have wanted ability to find some better expedient.

Three years after his 'Paradise Lost' (1667) he published his 'History of England,' comprising the whole fable of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and continued to the Norman Invasion. Why he should have given the first part, which he *seems not to* believe, and which is universally rejected, it is *difficult to* conjecture. The style is harsh; but it has some-

thing of rough vigour, which perhaps may often strike, though it cannot please.

On this history the licenser again fixed his claws, and before he could transmit it to the press tore out several parts. Some censures of the Saxon monks were taken away, lest they should be applied to the modern clergy; and a character of the Long Parliament, and Assembly of Divines, was excluded; of which the author gave a copy to the Earl of Anglesea, and which, being afterwards published, has been since inserted in its proper place.

The same year were printed 'Paradise Regained'; and 'Samson Agonistes,' a tragedy written in imitation of the ancients, and never designed by the author for the stage. As these poems were published by another bookseller, it has been asked whether Simmons was discouraged from receiving them by the slow sale of the former. Why a writer changed his bookseller a hundred years ago, I am far from hoping to discover. Certainly, he who in two years sells thirteen hundred copies of a volume in quarto, bought for two payments of five pounds each, has no reason to repent his purchase.

When Milton showed 'Paradise Regained' to Ellwood, 'This,' said he, 'is owing to you; for you put it in my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which otherwise I had not thought of.'

His last poetical offspring was his favourite. He could not, as Ellwood relates, endure to hear 'Paradise Lost' preferred to 'Paradise Regained.' Many causes may vitiate a writer's judgment of his own works. On that which has cost him much labour he sets a high value, because he is unwilling to think that he has been diligent in vain: what has been produced without toilsome efforts is considered with delight, as a proof of vigorous faculties and fertile invention;

and the last work, whatever it be, has necessarily most of the grace of novelty. Milton, however it happened, had this prejudice, and had it to himself.

To that multiplicity of attainments, and extent of comprehension, that entitled this great author to our veneration, may be added a kind of humble dignity, which did not disdain the meanest services to literature. The epic poet, the controvertist, the politician, having already descended to accommodate children with a book of rudiments, now, in the last years of his life, composed a book of logic for the initiation of students in philosophy; and published (1672) 'Artis Logicae plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami Methodum concinnata'; that is, 'A new Scheme of Logic, according to the method of Ramus.' I know not whether, even in this book, he did not intend an act of hostility against the universities; for Ramus was one of the first oppugners of the old philosophy, who disturbed with innovations the quiet of the schools.

His polemical disposition again revived. He had now been safe so long that he forgot his fears, and published a 'Treatise of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the Best Means to Prevent the Growth of Popery.'

But this little tract is modestly written, with respectful mention of the Church of England and an appeal to the Thirty-nine Articles. His principle of toleration is, agreement in the sufficiency of the Scriptures; and he extends it to all who, whatever their opinions are, profess to derive them from the sacred books. The Papists appeal to other testimonies, and are therefore, in his opinion, not to be permitted the liberty of either public or private worship; for though they plead conscience, 'we have no warrant,' he says, 'to regard conscience which is not grounded in Scripture.'

Those who are not convinced by his reasons, may be perhaps delighted with his wit. The term 'Roman Catholic is,' he says, 'one of the Pope's bulls; it is particular universal, or Catholic schismatic.'

He has, however, something better. As the best preservative against Popery, he recommends the diligent perusal of the Scriptures, a duty from which he warns the busy part of mankind not to think themselves excused.

He now reprinted his juvenile poems, with some additions.

In the last year of his life he sent to the press, seeming to take delight in publication, a collection of 'Familiar Epistles in Latin'; to which, being too few to make a volume, he added same academical exercises, which perhaps he perused with pleasure, as they recalled to his memory the days of youth; but for which nothing but veneration for his name could now procure a reader.

When he had attained his sixty-sixth year, the gout, with which he had been long tormented, prevailed over the enfeebled powers of nature. He died by a quiet and silent expiration, about the 10th of November, 1674, at his house in Bunhill Fields; and was buried next his father in the chancel of St. Giles at Cripplegate. His funeral was very splendidly and numerously attended.

Upon his grave there is supposed to have been no memorial; but in our time a monument has been erected in Westminster Abbey 'To the Author of "Paradise Lost,"' by Mr. Benson, who has in the inscription bestowed more words upon himself than upon Milton.

When the inscription for the monument of Phillips, in which he was said to be 'soli Miltono secundus,' was exhibited to Dr. Sprat, then Dean of Westminster, he refused to admit it; the name of Milton was, in his opinion, too detestable to be read on the wall of a building dedicated to devotion. Atter-

bury, who succeeded him, being author of the inscription, permitted its reception. 'And such has been the change of public opinion,' said Dr. Gregory, from whom I heard this account, 'that I have seen erected in the church a statue of that man, whose name I once knew considered as a pollution of its walls.'

Milton has the reputation of having been in his youth eminently beautiful, so as to have been called the lady of his college. His hair, which was of a light brown, parted at the fore-top, and hung down upon his shoulders, according to the picture which he has given of Adam. He was, however, not of the heroic stature, but rather below the middle size, according to Mr. Richardson, who mentions him as having narrowly escaped from being 'short and thick.' He was vigorous and active, and delighted in the exercise of the sword, in which he is related to have been eminently skilful. His weapon was, I believe, not the rapier, but the back-sword, of which he recommends the use in his book on education.

His eyes are said never to have been bright; but, if he was a dexterous fencer, they must have been once quick.

His domestic habits, so far as they are known, were those of a severe student. He drank little strong drink of any kind, and fed without excess in quantity, and in his earlier years without delicacy of choice. In his youth he studied late at night; but afterwards changed his hours, and rested in bed from nine to four in the summer, and five in the winter. The course of his day was best known after he was blind. When he first rose, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and then studied till twelve; then took some exercise for an hour; then dined, then played on the organ, and sang, or heard another sing, then studied till six; then entertained his visitors till eight; then supped, and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glass of water, went to bed.

So is his life described; but this even tenour appears

attainable only in colleges. He that lives in the world will sometimes have the succession of his practice broken and confused. Visitors, of whom Milton is represented to have had great numbers, will come and stay unseasonably; business, of which every man has some, must be done when others will do it.

When he did not care to rise early, he had something read to him by his bedside; perhaps at this time his daughters were employed. He composed much in the morning, and dictated in the day, sitting obliquely in an elbow-chair, with his leg thrown over the arm. Fortune appears not to have had much of his care. In the civil wars, he lent his personal estate to the Parliament, but when, after the contest was decided, he solicited repayment, he met not only with neglect, but 'sharp rebuke'; and, having tired both himself and his friends, was given up to poverty and hopeless indignation, till he showed how able he was to do greater service. He was then made Latin Secretary, with two hundred pounds a year; and had a thousand pounds for his 'Defence of the People.' His widow, who, after his death, retired to Nantwich, in Cheshire, and died about 1729, is said to have reported that he lost two thousand pounds by entrusting it to a scrivener; and that, in the general depredation upon the Church, he had grasped an estate of about sixty pounds a year belonging to Westminster Abbey, which, like other sharers of the plunder of rebellion, he was afterwards obliged to return. Two thousand pounds which he had placed in the Excise Office were also lost. There is yet no reason to believe that he was ever reduced to indigence. His wants, being few, were competently supplied. He sold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, on which his widow laid hold, and only gave one hundred to each of his daughters.

His literature was unquestionably great. He read all the languages which are considered either as learned or polite: Hebrew, with its two dialects, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish. In Latin his skill was such as places him in the first rank of writers and critics; and he appears to have cultivated Italian with uncommon diligence. The books in which his daughter, who used to read to him, represented him as most delighting, after Homer, which he could almost repeat, were Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' and Euripides. His Euripides is, by Mr. Cradock's kindness, now in my hands: the margin is sometimes noted; but I have found nothing remarkable.

Of the English poets he set most value upon Spenser, Shakespeare, and Cowley. Spenser was apparently his favourite; Shakespeare he may easily be supposed to like, with every other skilful reader; but I should not have expected that Cowley, whose ideas of excellence were different from his own, would have had much of his approbation. His character of Dryden, who sometimes visited him, was, that he was a good rhymist, but no poet.

His theological opinions are said to have been first Calvinistical; and afterwards, perhaps when he began to hate the Presbyterians, to have tended towards Arminianism. In the mixed questions of theology and government, he never thinks that he can recede far enough from Popery, or Prelacy; but what Baudius says of Erasmus seems applicable to him, 'Magis habuit quod fugeret, quam quod sequeretur.' He had determined rather what to condemn, than what to approve. He has not associated himself with any denomination of Protestants: we know rather what he was not than what he was. He was not of the Church of Rome; he was not of the Church of England.

To be of no Church is dangerous. Religion, of which the

rewards are distant, and which is animated only by faith and hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be invigorated and reimpressed by external ordinances, by stated calls to worship, and the salutary influence of example. Milton, who appears to have had a full conviction of the truth of Christianity, and to have regarded the Holy Scriptures with the profoundest veneration, to have been untainted by any heretical peculiarity of opinion, and to have lived in a confirmed belief of the immediate and occasional agency of Providence, yet grew old without any visible worship. In the distribution of his hours, there was no hour of prayer, either solitary or with his household; omitting public prayers, he omitted all.

Of this omission the reason has been sought upon a supposition which ought never to be made, that men live with their own approbation, and justify their conduct to themselves. Prayer certainly was not thought superfluous by him, who represents our first parents as praying acceptably in the state of innocence, and efficaciously after their fall. That he lived without prayer can hardly be affirmed; his studies and meditations were an habitual prayer. The neglect of it in his family was probably a fault for which he condemned himself, and which he intended to correct; but that death, as too often happens, intercepted his reformation.

His political notions were those of an acrimonious and surly Republican, for which it is not known that he gave any better reason than that 'a popular government was the most frugal; for the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary commonwealth.' It is surely very shallow policy that supposes money to be the chief good; and even this, without considering that the support and expense of a court is, for the most part, only a particular kind of traffic, by which money is circulated, without any national impoverishment.

Milton's Republicanism was, I am afraid, founded in an envious hatred of greatness, and a sullen desire of independence; in petulance impatient of control, and pride disdainful of superiority. He hated monarchs in the State, and prelates in the Church; for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be suspected that his predominant desire was to destroy rather than establish, and that he felt not so much the love of liberty as repugnance to authority.

It has been observed that they who most loudly clamour for liberty do not most liberally grant it. What we know of Milton's character, in domestic relations, is, that he was severe and arbitrary. His family consisted of women; and there appears in his books something like a Turkish contempt of females, as subordinate and inferior beings. That his own daughters might not break the ranks, he suffered them to be depressed by a mean and penurious education. He thought woman made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion.

Of his family some account may be expected. His sister, first married to Mr. Phillips, afterwards married Mr. Agar, a friend of her first husband, who succeeded him in the Crown-office. She had, by her first husband, Edward and John, the two nephews whom Milton educated; and by her second two daughters.

His brother, Sir Christopher, had two daughters, Mary and Catharine, and a son, Thomas, who succeeded Agar in the Crown-office, and left a daughter living, in 1749, in Grosvenor Street.

Milton had children only by his first wife: Anne, Mary, and Deborah. Anne, though deformed, married a master-builder, and died of her first child. Mary died single. Deborah married Abraham Clark, a weaver in Spitalfields, and lived to seventy-six years, to August, 1727. This is the daughter of whom public mention has been made. She could

repeat the first lines of Homer, the 'Metamorphoses,' and some of Euripides, by having often read them. Yet here incredulity is ready to make a stand. Many repetitions are necessary to fix in memory lines not understood; and why should Milton wish or want to hear them so often? These lines were at the beginning of the poems. Of a book written in a language not understood, the beginning raises no more attention than the end; and as those that understand it know commonly the beginning best, its rehearsal will seldom be necessary. It is not likely that Milton required any passage to be so much repeated, as that his daughter could learn it; nor likely that he desired the initial lines to be read at all; nor that the daughter, weary of the drudgery of pronouncing unideal sounds, would voluntarily commit them to memory.

To this gentlewoman Addison made a present, and promised some establishment, but died soon after. Queen Caroline sent her fifty guineas. She had seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except her son Caleb and her daughter Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St. George, in the East Indies, and had two sons, of whom nothing is now known. Elizabeth married Thomas Foster, a weaver in Spitalfields, and had seven children, who all died. She kept a petty grocer's or chandler's shop, first at Holloway, and afterwards in Cock Lane, near Shoreditch Church. She knew little of her grandfather, and that little was not good. She told of his harshness to his daughters, and his refusal to have them taught to write; and, in opposition to other accounts, represented him as delicate, though temperate, in his diet.

In 1750, April 5th, Comus was played for her benefit. She had so little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety, that she did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her. The profits of the night were only one hundred and thirty pounds, though Dr. Newton brought a large contribution;

and twenty pounds were given by Tonson, a man who is to be praised as often as he is named. Of this sum one hundred pounds were placed in the stocks, after some debate between her and her husband in whose name it should be entered; and the rest augmented their little stock, with which they removed to Islington. This was the greatest benefaction that 'Paradise Lost' ever procured the author's descendants; and to this he who has now attempted to relate his Life, had the honour of contributing a Prologue.

In the examination of Milton's poetical works, I shall pay so much regard to time as to begin with his juvenile productions. For his early pieces he seems to have had a degree of fondness not very laudable; what he has once written he resolves to preserve, and gives to the public an unfinished poem which he broke off because he was 'nothing satisfied with what he had done,' supposing his readers less nice than himself. These preludes to his future labours are in Italian, Latin, and English. Of the Italian I cannot pretend to speak as a critic; but I have heard them commended by a man well qualified to decide their merit. The Latin pieces are lusciously elegant: but the delight which they afford is rather by the exquisite imitation of the ancient writers, by the purity of the diction, and the harmony of the numbers, than by any power of invention or vigour of sentiment. They are not all of equal value; the elegies excel the odes; and some of the exercises on Gunpowder Treason might have been spared.

The English poems, though they make no promises of 'Paradise Lost,' have this evidence of genius—that they have a cast original and unborrowed. But their peculiarity is not excellence; if they differ from the verses of others, they differ for the worse; for they are too often distinguished by repulsive harshness; the combinations of words are new, but

they are not pleasing; the rhymes and epithets seem to be laboriously sought, and violently applied.

That in the early parts of his life he wrote with much care appears from his manuscripts, happily preserved at Cambridge, in which many of his smaller works are found as they were first written, with the subsequent corrections. Such relics show how excellence is acquired; what we hope ever to do with ease, we must learn first to do with diligence.

Those who admire the beauties of this great poet sometimes force their own judgment into false approbation of his little pieces, and prevail upon themselves to think that admirable which is only singular. All that short compositions can commonly attain is neatness and elegance. Milton never learned the art of doing little things with grace; he overlooked the milder excellence of suavity and softness; he was a 'lion' that had no skill in 'dandling the kid.'

One of the poems on which much praise has been bestowed is 'Lycidas'; of which the diction is harsh, the rhymes uncertain, and the numbers unpleasing. What beauty there is we must therefore seek in the sentiments and images. It is not to be considered as the effusion of real passion; for passion runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions. Passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuse and Mincius, nor tells of rough 'satyrs' and 'fauns with cloven heel.' Where there is leisure for fiction, there is little grief.

In this poem there is no nature, for there is no truth; there is no art, for there is nothing new. Its form is that of a pastoral; easy, vulgar, and therefore disgusting; whatever images it can supply are long ago exhausted; and its inherent improbability always forces dissatisfaction on the mind. When Cowley tells of Hervey, that they studied

together, it is easy to suppose how much he must miss the companion of his labours, and the partner of his discoveries; but what image of tenderness can be excited by these lines?—

> We drove afield, and both together heard
> What time the grey fly winds her sultry horn,
> Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night.

We know that they never drove afield, and that they had no flocks to batten; and though it be allowed that the representation may be allegorical, the true meaning is so uncertain and remote, that it is never sought, because it cannot be known when it is found.

Among the flocks, and copses, and flowers, appear the heathen deities; Jove and Phoebus, Neptune and Aeolus, with a long train of mythological imagery, such as a college easily supplies. Nothing can less display knowledge, or less exercise invention, than to tell how a shepherd has lost his companion, and must now feed his flocks alone, without any judge of his skill in piping; and how one god asks another god what is become of Lycidas, and how neither god can tell. He who thus grieves will excite no sympathy; he who thus praises will confer no honour.

This poem has yet a grosser fault. With these trifling fictions are mingled the most awful and sacred truths, such as ought never to be polluted with such irreverend combinations. The shepherd likewise is now a feeder of sheep, and afterwards an ecclesiastical pastor, a superintendent of a Christian flock. Such equivocations are always unskilful; but here they are indecent, and at least approach to impiety, of which, however, I believe the writer not to have been conscious.

Such is the power of reputation justly acquired, that its blaze drives away the eye from nice examination. Surely no

man could have fancied that he read Lycidas with pleasure, had he not known its author.

Of the two pieces, 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso,' I believe, opinion is uniform; every man that reads them, reads them with pleasure. The author's design is not, what Theobald has remarked, merely to show how objects derive their colours from the mind, by representing the operation of the same things upon the gay and the melancholy temper, or upon the same man as he is differently disposed; but rather how, among the successive variety of appearances, every disposition of mind takes hold on those by which it may be gratified.

The cheerful man hears the lark in the morning; the pensive man hears the nightingale in the evening. The cheerful man sees the cock strut, and hears the horn and hounds echo in the wood; then walks, 'not unseen,' to observe the glory of the rising sun, or listen to the singing milkmaid, and view the labours of the ploughman and the mower; then casts his eyes about him over scenes of smiling plenty, and looks up to the distant tower, the residence of some fair inhabitant; thus he pursues rural gaiety through a day of labour or of play, and delights himself at night with the fanciful narratives of superstitious ignorance.

The pensive man at one time walks unseen to muse at midnight, and at another hears the sullen curfew. If the weather drives him home, he sits in a room lighted only by 'glowing embers'; or by a lonely lamp outwatches the North Star, to discover the habitation of separate souls, and varies the shades of meditation by contemplating the magnificent or pathetic scenes of tragic or epic poetry. When the morning comes—a morning gloomy with rain and wind—he walks into the dark, trackless woods, falls asleep by some murmuring water, and with melancholy enthusiasm expects some

dream of prognostication, or some music played by aërial performers.

Both mirth and melancholy are solitary, silent inhabitants of the breast, that neither receive nor transmit communication; no mention is therefore made of a philosophical friend, or a pleasant companion. The seriousness does not arise from any participation of calamity, nor the gaiety from the pleasures of the bottle.

The man of cheerfulness, having exhausted the country, tries what 'towered cities' will afford, and mingles with scenes of splendour, gay assemblies, and nuptial festivities; but he mingles a mere spectator, as, when the learned comedies of Jonson, or the wild dramas of Shakespeare, are exhibited, he attends the theatre.

The pensive man never loses himself in crowds, but walks the cloister, or frequents the cathedral. Milton probably had not yet forsaken the Church.

Both his characters delight in music; but he seems to think that cheerful notes would have obtained from Pluto a complete dismission of Eurydice, of whom solemn sounds only procured a conditional release.

For the old age of Cheerfulness he makes no provision: but Melancholy he conducts with great dignity to the close of life. His Cheerfulness is without levity, and his Pensiveness without asperity.

Through these two poems the images are properly selected and nicely distinguished; but the colours of the diction seem not sufficiently discriminated. I know not whether the characters are kept sufficiently apart. No mirth can, indeed, be found in his melancholy; but I am afraid that I always meet some melancholy in his mirth. ~~They are two~~ noble efforts of imagination.

The greatest of his juvenile performances is the 'Masque of

Comus,' in which may very plainly be discovered the dawn or twilight of 'Paradise Lost.' Milton appears to have formed very early that system of diction, and mode of verse, which his maturer judgment approved, and from which he never endeavoured nor desired to deviate.

Nor does Comus afford only a specimen of his language; it exhibits likewise his power of description and his vigour of sentiment, employed in the praise and defence of virtue. A work more truly poetical is rarely found; allusions, images, and descriptive epithets, embellish almost every period with lavish decoration. As a series of lines, therefore, it may be considered as worthy of all the admiration with which the votaries have received it.

As a drama it is deficient. The action is not probable. A masque, in those parts where supernatural intervention is admitted, must indeed be given up to all the freaks of imagination, but so far as the action is merely human, it ought to be reasonable, which can hardly be said of the conduct of the two brothers; who, when their sister sinks with fatigue in a pathless wilderness, wander both away together in search of berries too far to find their way back, and leave a helpless lady to all the sadness and danger of solitude. This, however, is a defect overbalanced by its convenience.

What deserves more reprehension is, that the prologue spoken in the wild wood by the attendant Spirit is addressed to the audience; a mode of communication so contrary to the nature of dramatic representation, that no precedents can support it.

The discourse of the Spirit is too long; an objection that may be made to almost all the following speeches; they have not the sprightliness of a dialogue animated by reciprocal contention, but seem rather declamations deliberately composed, and formally repeated, on a moral question. The

auditor therefore listens as to a lecture, without passion, without anxiety.

The song of Comus has airiness and jollity; but, what may recommend Milton's morals as well as his poetry, the invitations to pleasure are so general, that they excite no distinct images of corrupt enjoyment, and take no dangerous hold on the fancy.

The following soliloquies of Comus and the Lady are elegant but tedious. The song must owe much to the voice, if it ever can delight. At last the Brothers enter with too much tranquillity; and, when they have feared lest their Sister should be in danger, and hoped that she is not in danger, the elder makes a speech in praise of chastity, and the younger finds how fine it is to be a philosopher.

Then descends the Spirit in form of a shepherd; and the Brother, instead of being in haste to ask his help, praises his singing, and inquires his business in that place. It is remarkable, that at this interview the Brother is taken with a short fit of rhyming. The Spirit relates that the Lady is in the power of Comus; the Brother moralises again; and the Spirit makes a long narration, of no use because it is false, and therefore unsuitable to a good being.

In all these parts the language is poetical, and the sentiments are generous; but there is something wanting to allure attention.

The dispute between the Lady and Comus is the most animated and affecting scene of the drama, and wants nothing but a brisker reciprocation of objections and replies to invite attention, and detain it.

The songs are vigorous and full of imagery; but they are harsh in their diction, and not very musical in their numbers.

Throughout the whole the figures are too bold, and the language too luxuriant for dialogue. It is a drama in the epic style, inelegantly splendid, and tediously instructive.

The sonnets were written in different parts of Milton's life, upon different occasions. They deserve not any particular criticism; for of the best it can only be said, that they are not bad; and perhaps only the eighth and twenty-first are truly entitled to this slender commendation. The fabric of a sonnet, however adapted to the Italian language, has never succeeded in ours, which, having greater variety of termination, requires the rhymes to be often changed.

Those little pieces may be despatched without much anxiety; a greater work calls for greater care. I am now to examine 'Paradise Lost'; a poem which, considered with respect to design, may claim the first place, and with respect to performance, the second, among the productions of the human mind.

By the general consent of critics the first praise of genius is due to the writer of an epic poem, as it requires an assemblage of all the powers which are singly sufficient for other compositions. Poetry is the art of uniting pleasure with truth, by calling imagination to the help of reason. Epic poetry undertakes to teach the most important truths by the most pleasing precepts, and therefore relates some great event in the most affecting manner. History must supply the writer with the rudiments of narration, which he must improve and exalt by a nobler art, must animate by dramatic energy, and diversify by retrospection and anticipation; morality must teach him the exact bounds, and different shades, of vice and virtue; from policy, and the practice of life, he has to learn the discriminations of character, and the tendency of the passions, either single or combined; and physiology must supply him with illustrations and images.

To put these materials to poetical use, is required an imagination capable of painting nature and realising fiction. Nor is he yet a poet till he has attained the whole extension of his language, distinguished all the delicacies of phrase, and all the colours of words, and learned to adjust their different sounds to all the varieties of metrical modulation.

Bossu is of opinion, that the poet's first work is to find a moral, which his fable is afterwards to illustrate and establish. This seems to have been the process only of Milton; the moral of other poems is incidental and consequent; in Milton's only it is essential and intrinsic. His purpose was the most useful and the most arduous: 'to vindicate the ways of God to man'; to show the reasonableness of religion, and the necessity of obedience to the Divine Law.

To convey this moral there must be a fable, a narration artfully constructed, so as to excite curiosity and surprise expectation. In this part of his work Milton must be confessed to have equalled every other poet. He has involved in his account of the Fall of Man the events which preceded and those that were to follow it: he has interwoven the whole system of theology with such propriety, that every part appears to be necessary; and scarcely any recital is wished shorter for the sake of quickening the progress of the main action.

The subject of an epic poem is naturally an event of great importance. That of Milton is not the destruction of a city, the conduct of a colony, or the foundation of an empire. His subject is the fate of worlds, the revolutions of heaven and of earth; rebellion against the Supreme King, raised by the highest order of created beings; the overthrow of their host, and the punishment of their crime; the creation of a new race of reasonable creatures; their original happiness and

innocence, their forfeiture of immortality, and their restoration to hope and peace.

Great events can be hastened or retarded only by persons of elevated dignity. Before the greatness displayed in Milton's poem, all other greatness shrinks away. The weakest of his agents are the highest and noblest of human beings, the original parents of mankind; with whose actions the elements consented; on whose rectitude, or deviation of will, depended the state of terrestrial nature, and the condition of all the future inhabitants of the globe.

Of the other agents in the poem, the chief are such as it is irreverence to name on slight occasions. The rest were lower powers—

> Of which the least could wield
> Those elements, and arm him with the force
> Of all their regions;

powers, which only the control of Omnipotence restrains from laying creation waste, and filling the vast expanse of space with ruin and confusion. To display the motives and actions of beings thus superior, so far as human reason can examine them, or human imagination represent them, is the task which this mighty poet has undertaken and performed.

In the examination of epic poems much speculation is commonly employed upon the characters. The characters in the 'Paradise Lost,' which admit of examination, are those of angels and of man; of angels good and evil; of man in his innocent and sinful state.

Among the angels, the virtue of Raphael is mild and placid, of easy condescension and free communication; that of Michael is regal and lofty, and, as may seem, attentive to the dignity of his own nature. Abdiel and Gabriel appear occasionally, and act as every incident requires; the solitary fidelity of Abdiel is very amiably painted.

Of the evil angels the characters are more diversified. To Satan, as Addison observes, such sentiments are given as suit 'the most exalted and most depraved being.' Milton has been censured by Clarke, for the impiety which sometimes breaks from Satan's mouth; for there are thoughts, as he justly remarks, which no observation of character can justify, because no good man would willingly permit them to pass, however transiently, through his own mind. To make Satan speak as a rebel, without any such expression as might taint the reader's imagination, was indeed one of the great difficulties in Milton's undertaking; and I cannot but think that he has extricated himself with great happiness. There is in Satan's speeches little that can give pain to a pious ear. The language of rebellion cannot be the same with that of obedience. The malignity of Satan foams in haughtiness and obstinacy; but his expressions are commonly general, and no otherwise offensive than as they are wicked.

The other chiefs of the celestial rebellion are very judiciously discriminated in the first and second books; and the ferocious character of Moloch appears, both in the battle and the council, with exact consistency.

To Adam and to Eve are given, during their innocence, such sentiments as innocence can generate and utter. Their love is pure benevolence and mutual veneration; their repasts are without luxury, and their diligence without toil. Their addresses to their Maker have little more than the voice of admiration and gratitude. Fruition left them nothing to ask; and innocence left them nothing to fear.

But with guilt enter distrust and discord, mutual accusation, and obborn self-defence; they regard each other with [illegible]ated minds, and dread their Creator as the avenger of their transgression. At last they seek shelter in His mercy, soften to repentance, and melt in supplication. Both

before and after the fall, the superiority of Adam is diligently sustained.

Of the probable and the marvellous, two parts of a vulgar epic poem which immerge the critic in deep consideration, the 'Paradise Lost' requires little to be said. It contains the history of a miracle, of creation and redemption; it displays the power and the mercy of the Supreme Being; the probable therefore is marvellous, and the marvellous is probable. The substance of the narrative is truth; and, as truth allows no choice, it is, like necessity, superior to rule. To the accidental or adventitious parts, as to everything human, some slight exceptions may be made; but the main fabric is immovably supported.

It is justly remarked by Addison, that this poem has, by the nature of its subject, the advantage above all others, that it is universally and perpetually interesting. All mankind will, through all ages, bear the same relation to Adam and Eve, and must partake of that good and evil which extend to themselves.

Of the machinery, so called from Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, by which is meant the occasional interposition of supernatural power, another fertile topic of critical remarks, here is no room to speak, because everything is done under the immediate and visible direction of Heaven; but the rule is so far observed, that no part of the action could have been accomplished by any other means.

Of episodes, I think there are only two—contained in Raphael's relation of the war in Heaven, and Michael's prophetic account of the changes to happen in this world. Both are closely connected with the great action; one was necessary to Adam as a warning, the other as a consolation.

To the completeness or integrity of the design nothing can be objected; it has distinctly and clearly what Aristotle

requires—a beginning, a middle, and an end. There is perhaps no poem, of the same length, from which so little can be taken without apparent mutilation. Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long description of a shield. The short digressions at the beginning of the third, seventh, and ninth books, might doubtless be spared, but superfluities so beautiful who would take away? or who does not wish that the author of the 'Iliad' had gratified succeeding ages with a little knowledge of himself? Perhaps no passages are more attentively read than those extrinsic paragraphs; and, since the end of poetry is pleasure, that cannot be unpoetical with which all are pleased.

The questions, whether the action of the poem be strictly one, whether the poem can be properly termed heroic, and who is the hero, are raised by such readers as draw their principles of judgment rather from books than from reason. Milton, though he entitled 'Paradise Lost' only a 'poem,' yet calls it himself 'heroic song.' Dryden petulantly and indecently denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome; but there is no reason why the hero should not be unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together. Cato is the hero of Lucan; but Lucan's authority will not be suffered by Quintilian to decide. However, if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed; Adam was restored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may securely resume his human rank.

After the scheme and fabric of the poem, must be considered its component parts, the sentiments and the diction.

The sentiments, as expressive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably just. Splendid passages, containing lessons of morality, or

precepts of prudence, occur seldom. Such is the original formation of this poem, that, as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little assistance to human conduct. Its end is to raise the thoughts above sublunary cares or pleasures. Yet the praise of that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his singularity of virtue against the scorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curiosity after the planetary motions, with the answer returned by Adam, may be confidently opposed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts which are occasionally called forth in the progress are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which materials were supplied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton's mind may be said to sublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the spirit of science, unmingled with its grosser parts.

He had considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extensive. The characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace; but his natural port is gigantic loftiness. He can please when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish.

He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had bestowed upon him more bountifully than upon others—the power of displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful; he therefore chose a subject on which too much could not

be said, on which he might tire his fancy without the censure of extravagance.

The appearances of nature, and the occurrences of life, did not satiate his appetite of greatness. To paint things as they are requires a minute attention, and employs the memory rather than the fancy. Milton's delight was to sport in the wide regions of possibility; reality was a scene too narrow for his mind. He sent his faculties out upon discovery, into worlds where only imagination can travel, and delighted to form new modes of existence, and furnish sentiment and action to superior beings; to trace the counsels of hell, or accompany the choirs of heaven.

But he could not be always in other worlds; he must sometimes revisit earth, and tell of things visible and known. When he cannot raise wonder by the sublimity of his mind, he gives delight by its fertility.

Whatever be his subject, he never fails to fill the imagination. But his images and descriptions of the scenes or operations of nature do not seem to be always copied from original form, nor to have the freshness, raciness, and energy of immediate observation. He saw nature, as Dryden expresses it, 'through the spectacles of books'; and on most occasions calls learning to his assistance. The garden of Eden brings to his mind the vale of Enna, where Proserpine was gathering flowers. Satan makes his way through fighting elements, like Argo between the Cyanean rocks, or Ulysses between the two Sicilian whirlpools, when he shunned Charybdis on the larboard. The mythological allusions have been justly censured, as not being always used with notice of their vanity; but they contribute variety to the narration, and produce an alternate exercise of the memory and the fancy.

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Of his moral sentiments it is hardly praise to affirm that they excel those of all other poets; for this superiority he was indebted to his acquaintance with the sacred writings. The ancient epic poets, wanting the light of Revelation, were very unskilful teachers of virtue; their principal characters may be great, but they are not amiable. The reader may rise from their works with a greater degree of active or passive fortitude, and sometimes of prudence; but he will be able to carry away few precepts of justice, and none of mercy.

From the Italian writers it appears that the advantages of even Christian knowledge may be possessed in vain. Ariosto's pravity is generally known; and, though the 'Deliverance of Jerusalem' may be considered as a sacred subject, the poet has been very sparing of moral instruction.

In Milton every line breathes sanctity of thought, and purity of manners, except when the train of the narration requires the introduction of the rebellious spirits; and even they are compelled to acknowledge their subjection to God, in such a manner as excites reverence and confirms piety.

Of human beings there are but two; but those two are the parents of mankind, venerable before their fall for dignity and innocence, and amiable after it for repentance and submission. In the first state their affection is tender without weakness, and their piety sublime without presumption. When they have sinned, they show how discord begins in

mutual frailty, and how it ought to cease in mutual forbearance; how confidence of the Divine favour is forfeited by sin, and how hope of pardon may be obtained by penitence and prayer. A state of innocence we can only conceive, if indeed, in our present misery, it be possible to conceive it; but the sentiments and worship proper to a fallen and offending being, we have all to learn, as we have all to practise.

The poet, whatever be done, is always great. Our progenitors in their first state conversed with angels; even when folly and sin had degraded them, they had not in their humiliation 'the port of mean suitors'; and they rise again to reverential regard, when we find that their prayers were heard.

As human passions did not enter the world before the Fall, there is in the 'Paradise Lost' little opportunity for the pathetic; but what little there is has not been lost. That passion, which is peculiar to rational nature, the anguish arising from the consciousness of transgression, and the horrors attending the sense of the Divine displeasure, are very justly described and forcibly impressed. But the passions are moved only on one occasion; sublimity is the general and prevailing quality in this poem; sublimity variously modified—sometimes descriptive, sometimes argumentative.

The defects and faults of 'Paradise Lost'—for faults and defects every work of man must have—it is the business of impartial criticism to discover. As, in displaying the excellence of Milton, I have not made long quotations, because of selecting beauties there had been no end, I shall in the same general manner mention that which seems to deserve censure; for what Englishman can take delight in transcribing passages, which, if they lessen the reputation of Milton, diminish in some degree the honour of our country?

The generality of my scheme does not admit the frequent notice of verbal inaccuracies; which Bentley, perhaps better skilled in grammar and poetry, has often found, though he sometimes made them, and which he imputed to the obtrusions of a reviser, whom the author's blindness obliged him to employ; a supposition rash and groundless, if he thought it true; and vile and pernicious, if, as is said, he in private allowed it to be false.

The plan of 'Paradise Lost' has this inconvenience, that it comprises neither human actions nor human manners. The man and woman who act and suffer ~~are in a state~~ which no other man or woman can ever know. The reader finds no transaction in which he can be ~~engaged beholds~~ no condition in which he can by any ~~effort of imagination~~ place himself; he has, therefore, little natural curiosity or sympathy.

We all, indeed, feel the effects of Adam's disobedience; we all sin like Adam, and like him must all bewail our offences; we have restless and insidious enemies in the fallen angels, and in the blessed spirits we have guardians and friends; in the redemption of mankind we hope to be included; in the description of heaven and hell we are surely interested, as we are all to reside hereafter either in the regions of horror or bliss.

But these truths are too important to be new; they have been taught to our infancy; they have mingled with our solitary thoughts and familiar conversations, and are habitually interwoven with the whole texture of life. Being therefore not new, they raise no unaccustomed emotion in the mind; what we knew before, we cannot learn; what is not unexpected, cannot surprise.

Of the ideas suggested by these awful scenes, from some we recede with reverence, except when stated hours require

their association; and from others we shrink with horror, or admit them only as salutary inflictions, as counterpoises to our interests and passions. Such images rather obstruct the career of fancy than incite it.

Pleasure and terror are indeed the genuine sources of poetry; but poetical pleasure must be such as human imagination can at least conceive, and poetical terrors such as human strength and fortitude may combat. The good and evil of eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit; the mind sinks under them in passive helplessness, content with calm belief and humble adoration.

Known truths, however, may take a different appearance, and be conveyed to the mind by a new train of intermediate images. This Milton has undertaken and performed with pregnancy and vigour of mind peculiar to himself. Whoever considers the few radical positions which the Scriptures afforded him, will wonder by what energetic operation he expanded them to such extent, and ramified them to so much variety, restrained as he was by religious reverence from licentiousness of fiction.

Here is a full display of the united force of study and genius—of a great accumulation of materials, with judgment to digest and fancy to combine them: Milton was able to select from nature or from story, from an ancient fable or from modern science, whatever could illustrate or adorn his thoughts. An accumulation of knowledge impregnated his mind, fermented by study and exalted by imagination.

It has been therefore said, without an indecent hyperbole, by one of his encomiasts, that in reading 'Paradise Lost' we read a book of universal knowledge.

But original deficiency cannot be supplied. The want of human interest is always felt. 'Paradise Lost' is one of the books which the reader admires and lays down, and forgets

to take up again. None ever wished it longer than it is. Its perusal is a duty rather than a pleasure. We read Milton for instruction, retire harassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation; we desert our master, and seek for companions.

Another inconvenience of Milton's design is, that it requires the description of what cannot be described, the agency of spirits. He saw that immateriality supplied no images, and that he could not show angels acting but by instruments of action; he therefore invested them with form and matter. This, being necessary, was therefore defensible; and he should have secured the consistency of his system, by keeping immateriality out of sight, and enticing his reader to drop it from his thoughts. But he has unhappily perplexed his poetry with his philosophy. His infernal and celestial powers are sometimes pure spirit, and sometimes animated body. When Satan walks with his lance upon the 'burning marl,' he has a body; when, in his passage between hell and the new world, he is in danger of sinking in the vacuity, and is supported by a gust of rising vapours, he has a body; when he animates the toad, he seems to be mere spirit, that can penetrate matter at pleasure; when he 'starts up in his own shape,' he has at least a determined form; and when he is brought before Gabriel, he has 'a spear and a shield,' which he had the power of hiding in the toad, though the arms of the contending angels are evidently material.

The vulgar inhabitants of Pandaemonium, being 'incorporeal spirits,' are 'at large, though without number,' in a limited space: yet in the battle, when they were overwhelmed by mountains, their armour hurt them, 'crushed in upon their substance, now grown gross by sinning.' This likewise happened to the uncorrupted angels, who were overthrown the 'sooner for their arms, for unarmed they might easily as

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requires—a beginning, a middle, and an end. There is perhaps no poem, of the same length, from which so little can be taken without apparent mutilation. Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long description of a shield. The short digressions at the beginning of the third, seventh, and ninth books, might doubtless be spared, but superfluities so beautiful who would take away? or who does not wish that the author of the 'Iliad' had gratified succeeding ages with a little knowledge of himself? Perhaps no passages are more attentively read than those extrinsic paragraphs; and, since the end of poetry is pleasure, that cannot be unpoetical with which all are pleased.

The questions, whether the action of the poem be strictly one, whether the poem can be properly termed heroic, and who is the hero, are raised by such readers as draw their principles of judgment rather from books than from reason. Milton, though he entitled 'Paradise Lost' only a 'poem,' yet calls it himself 'heroic song.' Dryden petulantly and indecently denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome; but there is no reason why the hero should not be unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together. Cato is the hero of Lucan; but Lucan's authority will not be suffered by Quintilian to decide. However, if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed; Adam was restored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may securely resume his human rank.

After the scheme and fabric of the poem, must be considered its component parts, the sentiments and the diction.

The sentiments, as expressive of manners, or appropriated to characters, are, for the greater part, unexceptionably just. *Splendid* passages, containing lessons of morality, or

precepts of prudence, occur seldom. Such is the original formation of this poem, that, as it admits no human manners till the Fall, it can give little assistance to human conduct. Its end is to raise the thoughts above sublunary cares or pleasures. Yet the praise of that fortitude, with which Abdiel maintained his singularity of virtue against the scorn of multitudes, may be accommodated to all times; and Raphael's reproof of Adam's curiosity after the planetary motions, with the answer returned by Adam, may be confidently opposed to any rule of life which any poet has delivered.

The thoughts which are occasionally called forth in the progress are such as could only be produced by an imagination in the highest degree fervid and active, to which materials were supplied by incessant study and unlimited curiosity. The heat of Milton's mind may be said to sublimate his learning, to throw off into his work the spirit of science, unmingled with its grosser parts.

He had considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He had accustomed his imagination to unrestrained indulgence, and his conceptions therefore were extensive. The characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. He sometimes descends to the elegant, but his element is the great. He can occasionally invest himself with grace; but his natural port is gigantic loftiness. He can please when pleasure is required; but it is his peculiar power to astonish.

He seems to have been well acquainted with his own genius, and to know what it was that Nature had bestowed upon him more bountifully than upon others—the power of displaying the vast, illuminating the splendid, enforcing the awful, darkening the gloomy, and aggravating the dreadful; he therefore chose a subject on which too much could not

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for I cannot wish his work to be other than it is; yet, like other heroes, he is to be admired rather than imitated. He that thinks himself capable of astonishing may write blank verse; but those that hope only to please must condescend to rhyme.

The highest praise of genius is original invention. Milton cannot be said to have contrived the structure of an epic poem, and therefore owes reverence to that vigour and amplitude of mind to which all generations must be indebted for the art of poetical narration, for the texture of the fable, the variation of incidents, the interposition of dialogue, and all the stratagems that surprise and enchain attention. But, of all the borrowers from Homer, Milton is perhaps the least indebted. He was naturally a thinker for himself, confident of his own abilities, and disdainful of help or hindrance: he did not refuse admission to the thoughts or images of his predecessors, but he did not seek them. From his contemporaries he neither courted nor received support; there is in his writings nothing by which the pride of other authors might be gratified, or favour gained; no exchange of praise, nor solicitation of support. His great works were performed under discountenance, and in blindness, but difficulties vanished at his touch; he was born for whatever is arduous, and his work is not the greatest of heroic poems, only because it is not the first.

NOTES.

P. 1, l. 6. Elijah Fenton (d. 1730), author of the play of 'Mariamne,' one of Pope's assistants in translating the Odyssey, and editor of the poems of Waller and Milton. His biography is the thirtieth in Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets.' Johnson there terms Fenton's life of Milton 'a short and elegant account of Milton's life, written at once with tenderness and integrity.' Other biographies of Milton made use of by Johnson were the following: that by Anthony Wood in 'Athenae Oxonienses,' published in 1691–2; a life by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, prefixed to the 'Letters of State written by Mr. John Milton,' published in 1694; the life of Milton by John Toland, 1698; Jonathan Richardson's 'Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost, with a life of the author,' 1734; the life of Milton by Thomas Birch, prefixed to his edition of Milton's Prose Works, 1738, and that by Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol, prefixed to Milton's Poems 1749–52. Wood's account of Milton's life was based on notes supplied him by John Aubrey, the Antiquary, which have since been published (Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, and Lives of Eminent Men, by John Aubrey. 1813. Vol. II. pt. ii. 439–450).

l. 11. This account of Milton's descent is derived from Phillips and Aubrey. No trace of the existence of any such family of Miltons has been discovered, either at Great Milton near Thame, in Oxfordshire, or at Milton near Abingdon, in Berkshire. (Masson, Life of Milton, i. 10.)

l. 14. Milton's grandfather seems to have been a certain Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's, about six miles from Oxford. Richard Milton was a substantial yeoman living on the borders of Shotover Forest, but does not appear to

have been either keeper or under-ranger of the forest. He was a strong Catholic. (Masson, Life of Milton, i. 16-20.)

l. 22. John Milton, the father of the poet, was admitted to the Scriveners' company in February 1600. Scriveners, once merely penmen and scribes, had come to exercise many of the functions now exercised by a solicitor, and drew up all deeds of a simpler nature. John Milton prospered so much that he came to possess what Aubrey calls 'a plentiful estate,' and was able about 1630 to retire from his business. Aubrey terms him 'An ingeniose man, delighted in musique, composed many songs now in print.' The Latin poem mentioned by Johnson is the one 'Ad Patrem' in 'Sylvarum Liber' (Poetical Works, Globe ed. p. 610).

P. 2, l. 1. The statement that the poet's mother was of the Welsh family of Caston is made by Johnson on the authority of Phillips. Aubrey and Wood both state that her name was Sarah Bradshaw. Col. Chester has proved that she was Sarah Jeffrey, daughter of Paul Jeffrey, merchant tailor of London, of a family of that name in Essex. (Masson, Life of Milton, i. 30.)

l. 10. Christopher Milton (1615-1693) was made one of the barons of the Exchequer on April 26, 1686. 'Of Christopher Milton,' remarks Macaulay, 'little is known, except that, in the time of the civil war he had been a royalist, and that he now, in his old age, leaned towards Popery. It does not appear that he was ever formally reconciled to the Church of Rome; but he certainly had scruples about communicating with the Church of England, and had therefore a strong interest in supporting the dispensing power.' (History of England, chap. vi.)

l. 27. *St. Paul's School.*—St. Paul's School was founded by Dr. John Colet in 1512. Dr. Alexander Gill, the eighth headmaster, was appointed in 1608. According to Wood he was 'esteemed by most persons to be a learned man, a noted Latinist, critic and divine, and also to have such an excellent way of training up youth that none in his time went beyond it.' (Athenae, ii. 597-9.) An account of the state of St. Paul's School at the time of Milton's education there is given by

Masson, i. 58. Milton thus describes his school days: 'My father destined me while yet a little boy for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight; which indeed was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches. All which not retarding my impetuosity in learning, he caused me to be daily instructed both at the Grammar School and under other masters at home; and then when I had acquired various tongues, and also some not insignificant taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge.' (Defensio Secunda. Masson, Life of Milton, i. 84.) Milton has been supposed to refer to his own recollection of himself as a child in 'Paradise Regained,' i. 201–206.

l. 29. Milton was admitted not a sizar, but a lesser pensioner, of Christ's College on February 12, 162$\frac{4}{5}$. A lesser pensioner practically corresponds to what is now termed a commoner. As the year then began on March 25 and not on January 1, February 12, 1624, would be, according to modern reckoning, February 12, 1625.

l. 16. Anne, the eldest sister of the poet, married Edward Phillips about the year 1624. Edward Phillips died in 1631, and his widow then married Thomas Agar. Her eldest son, Edward Phillips (b. 1630), was the author of the account of Milton mentioned by Johnson. The Crown Office was a department of Chancery, and the position of 'Secondary' seems to have been that of deputy to the Clerk of the Crown who was the head of the office. (Masson, Life of Milton, i. 104; ii. 98.)

l. 25. Thomas Young, afterwards a prominent Puritan divine, was a Scotchman by birth, educated at the University of St. Andrews, and became chaplain to the English Merchants at Hamburg about 1622. Milton's fourth elegy is addressed to Young ('Ad Thomam Junium, praeceptorem suum'; Poetical Works, Globe ed. p. 586).

P. 3, l. 1. The second and third of the Latin elegies and a great part of the 'Liber Silvarum' are dated as written

in Milton's seventeenth year. Many others are assigned to his eighteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first years respectively.

l. 3. Johnson writes, in his life of Cowley, 'Among the English poets, Cowley, Milton, and Pope might be said to "lisp in numbers"; and have given such early proofs not only of powers of language but of comprehension of things as to more tardy minds seems scarcely credible.' Cowley's first volume of poems was published in 1633, when he was fifteen years old. Johnson a little over-estimates Cowley's 'vernal fertility' by erroneously representing this volume as first published in Cowley's thirteenth year.

l. 24. In the life of Cowley, Johnson compares the Latin compositions of Cowley and Milton, p. 18: 'At the same time were produced, from the same university, the two great poets, Cowley and Milton, of dissimilar genius, of opposite principles; but concurring in the cultivation of Latin poetry, in which the English, till their works and May's poem appeared, seemed unable to contest the palm with any other of the lettered nations. If the Latin performances of Cowley and Milton be compared (for May I hold to be superior to both), the advantage seems to lie on the side of Cowley. Milton is generally content to express the thoughts of the ancients in their language; Cowley, without much loss of purity or elegance, accommodates the diction of Rome to his own conceptions.' *Walter Haddon* (1516–1572) was successively Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and envoy from Queen Elizabeth to the Netherlands. *Roger Ascham* (1515–1568), author of 'Toxophilus' and 'The Schoolmaster,' wrote also a number of 'familiar letters' in Latin, which were collected after his death. *William Alabaster* (1567–1640) wrote about 1592 a Latin tragedy entitled 'Roxana,' which was acted in the hall of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is in form an imitation of the tragedies of Seneca. On the Latin poems of Alabaster, May and Milton, *v.* Hallam, Literature of Europe, iii. 277, ed. 1869.

l. 27. Some of these exercises are printed amongst Milton's poems. See the poem headed 'At a Vacation Exercise in

the College' (Poetical Works, Globe ed. p. 482). Seven compositions in Latin prose are appended to the edition of Milton's 'Epistolae Familiares' published in 1674. They are translated by Masson, Life of Milton, i. 272–307.

P. 4, l. 31. The authority for the statement that Milton 'suffered the indignity of corporal punishment' is Aubrey, who states in his notes that Milton's tutor Chappell 'whipt him.' Corporal punishment was certainly still occasionally employed in the Universities at this period, but it was usually restricted to undergraduates under the age of 18. There is no doubt that Milton had a serious quarrel with his tutor William Chappell, and was in consequence transferred to another tutor, Tovey. But Milton's age, the silence of his contemporary detractors, and the absence of any confirmatory evidence, render the story of the whipping improbable. Milton seems to have been sent down for a few weeks, but as he did not lose a term but took his degree at the earliest possible date, can scarcely have been rusticated, as Johnson suggests. (Masson, Life of Milton, i. 159–167.)

P. 5, l. 4. Of Education; to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, 1644. Speaking of his proposed Academy, Milton says: 'This place should be at once both School and University, not needing a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be to some peculiar College of Law or Physic, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time, from Lilly to the commencing, as they term it, Master of Art, it should be absolute.' The Discourse 'On the likeliest way to remove Hirelings out of the Church' was printed in 1659. For the passage referred to by Johnson, see Milton's Prose Works, ed. 1848, iii. 27.

l. 25. From the 'Apology for Smectymnuus,' 1642; Prose Works, ed. 1848, iii. 114.

l. 28. Milton's first 'Elegy,' lines 26–46; Poetical Works, p. 582, Globe ed.

P. 6, l. 5. From 'The Reason of Church Government,' 1641; Prose Works, ed. 1848, ii. 482.

l. 22. This letter is quoted at length by Masson (Life of Milton, i. 323). Milton concludes: 'Not the endless delight

of speculation, but this very consideration of that great commandment, does not press forward as soon as many do, to undergo, but keeps off with a sacred reverence and religious advisement how best to undergo, not taking thought of being late, so it give advantage to be more fit, for those that were latest lost nothing when the master of the vineyard came to give each one his hire . . . Yet that you may see that I am something suspicious of myself, and do take notice of a certain belatedness in me, I am the bolder to send you some of my nightward thoughts, some while since, because they come in not altogether unfitly, made up in a Petrarchian stanza, which I told you of.' This was followed by the Sonnet 'On his being arrived at the age of 23,' the second of Milton's Sonnets, written in December, 1631.

l. 24. Milton left Cambridge in July 1632, after taking his Master's degree, and lived at Horton from that time to April 1638. Horton is near Colnbrook.

l. 27. One of Milton's commonplace books was printed by the Camden Society in 1877. The number of authors referred to by him in its pages is very considerable, including not merely classical authors, but mediaeval and modern historians. Copies of Euripides, Lycophron, and Aratus, read and annotated by Milton during these years, have also survived. (Masson, Life of Milton, i. 568.)

l. 31. John Egerton, first Earl of Bridgewater, was appointed in June, 1631, President of the Council of Wales and the Marches. 'Comus,' though acted in 1634, was not published till 1637, when it was entitled simply 'A Maske presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634, on Michaelmas night.' The name of 'Comus' was not given to it until it appeared amongst Milton's poems in the volume published in 1645.

P. 7, l. 4. Ovid, Amores, Bk. III. ix. 25.

l. 8. Edward King was admitted to Christ's College June 9, 1626, and, like Milton, had Chappell for his tutor. He was made fellow by a royal mandate in June 1630, and was drowned at sea on August 10, 1637, off the coast of Cheshire. A collection of memorial verses was published by his

friends early in 1638, containing twenty-three Greek and Latin poems, and thirteen English. Milton's poem is the last of the series, and is signed with his initials only. The manuscript of it, which is dated November 1637, is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Besides Milton, the only contributors of note are John Cleveland, Joseph Beaumont, and Henry More. (Masson, i. 646-659.)

l. 14. The passage against the church is lines 113-131. Milton drew attention to it when he republished the poem with his full name in 1645. 'In this monody,' he said, 'the author bewails a learned friend, unfortunately drowned in his passage from Chester on the Irish seas, 1637, and by occasion foretells the ruin of our corrupted clergy, then in their height.' 'Comus' also had contained some references to the Romanizing tendencies of the Laudian clergy (see Browne's introduction to the Clarendon Press edition of Milton's Poems, pp. xlix-lv). Of the versification of 'Lycidas,' Landor remarks, 'No poetry so harmonious had ever been written in our language, but in the same free metre both Tasso and Guarini had captivated the ear of Italy.' (Works, iv. 499, ed. 1876.)

l. 20. Alice, daughter of Sir John Spenser, of Althorpe, married, first, Ferdinando Stanley, afterwards fifth Earl of Derby; secondly, Thomas Egerton, afterwards Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. Her daughter, by the Earl of Derby, Frances Stanley, married John Egerton, son of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere by a former wife, and became the mother of the three children who performed in 'Comus.' Harefield is about four miles from Uxbridge. 'Arcades' is a fragment of a masque performed there probably in 1633. (Masson, Life of Milton, i. 599.)

l. 23. Milton's mother died on April 3, 1637.

l. 27. Sir Henry Wotton's letter, dated April 13, 1638, was prefixed by Milton to 'Comus' in the volume of poems published in 1645, and may be found in this place in nearly all editions of Milton's works.

l. 31. Milton gives a narrative of his travels in his 'Defensio Secunda,' on which the account of Phillips and all

other accounts are based. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) was Swedish Ambassador at the Court of France from 1635–1644. Grotius had published in 1601 a Latin tragedy, entitled 'Adamus Exul,' from which Milton is said to have derived hints for 'Paradise Lost.'

P. 8, l. 9. From 'The Reason of Church-government urged against Prelaty' (Prose Works, ed. 1848, ii. 478).

l. 17. In his sonnets, and in his 'Defensio Secunda,' Milton liberally praises all the leading men of the republican party.

l. 20. Compare p. 81, l. 26. 'Blank verse makes some approach to that which is called the "lapidary style."' By a 'lapidary style' Johnson means the style usually adopted in monumental inscriptions. In the passage on p. 81 he compares the measured periods of such inscriptions with the rhythm of blank verse. In the present case he seems to be thinking of the habitual exaggerations of inscriptions. Elsewhere he says, 'the writer of an epitaph must not be considered as saying nothing but what is true. Allowance must be made for some degree of exaggerated praise. In lapidary inscriptions a man is not upon oath.' (Boswell's Johnson, ed. Hill, ii. 407.)

P. 9, l. 7. These Italian testimonies are printed in the Globe edition of Milton's Poems, pp. 578–581. Milton prefaces them by saying, 'Haec quae sequuntur de authore testimonia, ipse intelligebat non tam de se quam suprą se esse dicta.'

l. 21. The poem headed 'Mansus' (Poetical Works, Globe ed., p. 615). Giovanni Battista Manso, Marquis of Villa (1561–1645), author of a life of Tasso. A translation of Milton's poem into prose is given by Masson (Life of Milton, i. 816), and one in verse by Cowper (Poetical Works, Globe ed., p. 455).

l. 26. 'When I was preparing to pass over into Sicily and Greece, the melancholy intelligence which I received of the civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow citizens were fighting for liberty at home.' (Defensio Secunda, Prose Works, i. 256.)

l. 33. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) was tried by the Inquisition in 1633, forced to abjure his scientific heresies, and for a time imprisoned. When Milton visited Galileo he was confined in his own villa at Arcetri, near Florence, not exactly a prisoner, but still subjected to many restrictions imposed upon him by the Inquisition. Milton thrice refers to Galileo in his works; 'Paradise Lost,' i. 288, v. 262; 'Areopagitica,' ed. Hales, p. 35.

P. 10, l. 17. Milton returned to England about the end of July, 1639. Charles Diodati was a physician, Milton's schoolfellow at St. Paul's, and nephew of the Geneva Professor of Divinity, and died in August, 1638. Translations of the 'Epitaphium Damonis' are to be found in Masson's Life of Milton, ii. 85, and Cowper's Poetical Works (p. 458, Globe ed.). 'The Epitaphium Damonis' is memorable as Milton's last attempt in serious Latin verse. He discovered in this experiment that Latin was not an adequate vehicle of the feeling he desired to give vent to. In the concluding lines he takes a formal farewell of the Latian muse, and announces his purpose of adopting henceforth the "harsh and grating Brittonic idiom" (Brittonicum stridens).' Pattison, Life of Milton, p. 41.

P. 11, l. 16. Milton's views on education are embodied in his tract 'Of Education: to Mr. Samuel Hartlib,' published in June 1644, and reprinted at the end of his minor poems in 1673. He begins by saying that 'the reforming of education' is 'one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes.' He defines education thus: 'I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform, justly, skilfully and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.' The system of education he actually pursued is described by Phillips, p. xvii; see also Masson's Life of Milton iii. 231–255. Pattison, in his Life of Milton (p. 49), agrees with the criticism expressed by Johnson on p. 11, ll. 17–24.

l. 30. Refers to Cowley's scheme for the establishment of what he terms 'a philosophical college' entitled 'A proposi-

tion for the advancement of experimental philosophy,' inserted at p. 38 of the collection of 'Verses written on Several Occasions,' ed. 1700.

P. 12, l. 14. 'Physiological; relating to the doctrine of the natural constitution of things.' 'Physiology; the doctrine of the constitution of the works of nature.' (Johnson's Dictionary.) In this passage 'physiological knowledge' means knowledge of natural science. Compare p. 63, l. 33.

l. 31. Odyssey, iv. 392.

P. 13, l. 4. Both of Milton's nephews, John and Edward Phillips, were authors by profession. Edward Phillips, who is here referred to, was an author of some merit. The History of Poetry is probably 'Tractatulus de carmine dramatico poetarum veterum praesertim in choris tragicis et veteris comediae, 1670.' He also was the author of 'Theatrum Poetarum, or a complete collection of the poets, especially the most eminent of all ages, 1675.' This little volume is a kind of brief biographical dictionary of the poets of all ages, with brief criticisms occasionally inserted. It has been supposed that some of the judgments expressed were derived from Milton.

l. 11. 'The Sunday's work was for the most part the reading each day a chapter of the Greek Testament, and hearing his learned exposition upon the same ... The next work after this was the writing from his own dictation, some part, from time to time, of a tractate which he thought fit to collect from the ablest of divines who had written of that subject.' (Phillips, p. xix.)

l. 15. 'Himself giving an example to those under him of hard study and spare diet; only this advantage he had, that once in three weeks or a month, he would drop into the society of some young sparks of his acquaintance, the chief whereof were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, two gentlemen of Gray's-Inn, the beaus of those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days; with these gentlemen he would so far make bold with his body, as now and then to keep a gawdy-day.' (Phillips, p. xxi.)

l. 18. 'Of Reformation touching Church-discipline in Eng-

land, and the causes that hitherto have hindered it: two books written to a friend,' 1641. Probably published in May or June 1641. (Masson, ii. 239.)

l. 21. Milton does not say that the ministers were inferior to the prelates in learning, but in eloquence (Defensio Secunda). He thus explains what he meant by eloquence: 'I had no fear, but that the authors of Smectymnuus, to all the show of solidity which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepared both with skill and purpose to return a sufficing answer. . . . . But when I saw his weak arguments headed with sharp taunts, and that his design was, if he could not confute them, yet at least with quips and snapping adages to vapour them out, which they, bent only upon the business, were minded to let pass; by how much more I saw them taking little thought for their own injuries, I must confess I took it as my part the less to endure that my respected friends, through their own unnecessary patience, should lie at the mercy of a coy flirting style.' (Apology for Smectymnuus, Prose Works, ed. 1848, iii. 99.)

l. 25. Hall's tract is entitled 'A Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament: by a dutiful son of the Church.' It appeared in January 1641. It was a defence of liturgies in general, and especially of the English liturgy, and an assertion of the apostolic origin of episcopacy. Joseph Hall (1574–1656), bishop of Exeter (1627) and Norwich (1641), was celebrated as one of the first English satirists, and as one of the most eloquent of English divines. An account of his satires is given in Warton's History of English Poetry, chap. lxii. Of his theological writings Fuller says, 'He was commonly called our English Seneca, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his style; not unhappy at controversies, better in his sermons, best of all in his "meditations."' Extracts from these meditations are given in Professor Morley's 'Illustrations of English Religion,' p. 282. A collected edition of his works was published by the Rev. Peter Hall in 12 vols. in 1837–9. The answer of the five ministers is entitled 'An answer to a book entitled "An Humble Remonstrance," in which the original of Liturgy

and Episcopacy is discussed and quaeres propounded concerning both the parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated, the occasion of their imparity in antiquity discovered, the disparity of the ancient and our modern bishops manifested, the antiquity of ruling elders in the Church vindicated, the prelatical Church bounded: written by Smectymnuus.' The authors whose initials made up this word were Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young (Milton's tutor), Matthew Newcomen and William Spurstow, Usher's pamphlet was termed, 'The Judgment of Dr. Rainoldes touching the original of Episcopacy, more largely confirmed out of Antiquity, by James, Archbishop of Armagh.' (Masson ii. 249–251.) Milton's answer was published in June or July 1641.

P. 14, l. 4. Milton's fourth pamphlet, 'The Reason of Church Government,' was probably published in January or February 1642. (Masson, ii. 362.)

l. 19. These two pamphlets, Milton's third and fifth, are entitled: (3) 'Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence against Smectymnuus,' published in July 1641 (Masson, ii. 257); (5) 'An Apology against a pamphlet called A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions of the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus,' 1642 (Masson, ii. 398). The 'Apology' contains a long autobiographical passage describing his own education. The two passages quoted by Johnson (p. 14, l. 21; p. 15, l. 12) are both from the 'Apology.' (Prose Works, ed. Bohn, iii. 111, 135.)

P. 15, l. 10. Both the 'Animadversions' and the 'Apology' are deformed by abuse and scurrility. In the second his antagonist, Robert Hall, the son of the Bishop, provoked some 'roughness' by an attack on Milton's morals. Milton terms him 'a cloistered lubber,' 'a losel batchelor of Arts,' and 'a cursing Shimei.' In defence of the use of ridicule and strong language he quotes the examples of Christ, Socrates and Luther, and the precepts of Solomon and Horace.

l. 22. On this passage Coleridge remarks: 'The man who reads a work meant for immediate effect on one age

with the notions and feelings of another may be a refined gentleman, but must be a sorry critic. He who possesses imagination enough to live with his forefathers, and, leaving comparative reflection for an after moment, to give himself up during the first perusal to the feelings of a contemporary, if not a partizan, will, I dare aver, rarely find any part of Milton's prose works disgusting.' (Notes written in a copy of Hayley's Life of Milton. Miscellanies Aesthetic and Literary, ed. Ashe, p. 310.)

l. 23. Paradise Lost, ii. 719.

l. 27. Richard Powell lived at Forest Hill, about four miles from Oxford, and one from Stanton St. John's. He was possessor of an estate worth then over £300 a year, but it was encumbered by many debts, including one of £500 to John Milton, the father of the poet, which had been contracted in 1627. Mary Powell was baptized on January 24, 1626, and her marriage took place either in May or June 1643. (Masson, Life of Milton, ii. 491–506.)

P. 16, l. 6. 'Our author, now as it were a single man again, made it his chief diversion, now and then in an evening to visit the Lady Margaret Ley . . . . This lady being a woman of great wit and ingenuity, had a particular honour for him and took much delight in his company, as likewise her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman; and what esteem he at the same time had for her appears by a sonnet he made in praise of her.' (Phillips, p. xxiii.) The sonnet is number 10, 'Daughter to that good earl, once president Of England's Council and her treasury.' Lady Margaret Ley was daughter of James Ley (b. 1552, d. 1629), Lord High Treasurer (1622), and Lord President of the Council (1628). See Masson, Life of Milton.

l. 23. Milton's Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce was published about August 1, 1643, and a second edition followed in February 1644. Its full title is: 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, restored to the good of both sexes, from the bondage of Canon law and other mistakes, to Christian freedom, guided by the rule of charity; wherein also many places of Scripture have recovered their long

lost meaning; seasonable to be now thought on in the reformation intended.' (Masson, Life of Milton, iii. 44, 47, 65.) The second divorce tract was: 'The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce. Written to Edward the Sixth, in his second book of the Kingdom of Christ, and now englished. Wherein a late book restoring the doctrine and discipline of divorce, is here confirmed and justified by the authority of Martin Bucer.' This was published 15th July, 1644. (Masson, iii. 255.)

l. 29. On Dec. 28, 1644, the Wardens of the Stationers' Company complained to the House of Lords of the 'frequent printing of scandalous books by divers, as Hezekiah Woodward and John Milton.' The Lords ordered that Milton should be examined and brought before them, but he was apparently dismissed after examination, for he does not seem to have been brought before the House. There was no special reference in the complaint to Milton's Divorce tracts. The last pamphlet Milton had then published was the 'Areopagitica.' (Masson, Life of Milton, iii. 293.)

l. 31. On the different attacks on Milton's Divorce Treatises see Masson, Life of Milton, iii. 262, 297, 467. His chief assailants were, William Prynne and three divines, Dr. Daniel Featley, Mr. Herbert Palmer and Mr. Joseph Caryl. The antagonist mentioned by Johnson was anonymous. Milton replied to him and incidentally to Prynne and Caryl in a tract published in March 1645, entitled 'Colasterion: a reply to a nameless answer against The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce. Wherein the trivial author of that answer is discovered, the licenser conferred with, and the opinion which they traduce defended. By the former author J. M. Prov. xxvi. 5, Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit.' Phillips translates Colasterion as 'Rod of correction for a saucy impertinent.'

P. 17, l. 2. James Howell (1596–1666), appointed Historiographer Royal at the Restoration, published a collection of letters written by him to various persons between 1625 and 1655, and entitled 'Epistolae Ho-elianae, familiar

letters domestic and foreign.' Milton is thus alluded to by him: 'That opinion of a poor shallow-brained puppy, who upon any cause of disaffection, would have men to have a privilege to change their wives, or to repudiate them, deserves to be hissed at rather than confuted; for nothing can tend more to usher in all confusion and beggary throughout the world' (p. 455, ed. 1754).

l. 4. The two sonnets numbered 11 and 12, viz. 'On the Detraction which followed upon my writing certain treatises' and 'On the same.' Both these sonnets first appeared in the second edition of Milton's Poems in 1673. They were probably written in the latter part of 1645.

l. 6. Milton's breach with the Presbyterians is announced in the Sonnet, headed 'On the new Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament.' 'New Presbyter,' he concludes, 'is but old Priest writ large.' This was written probably in 1646. But nearly two years earlier, in the autumn of 1644, when 'Areopagitica' was published, Milton was disgusted with the intolerance of the Presbyterians. 'If it come to inquisitioning again and licensing . . . . . if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading except what they please, ... it will soon put it out of controversy that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing.' (Areopagitica, p. 36, ed. Hales.) In another place he says, 'if they are already so active at suppressing, it would be no unequal distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves.' (Ibid. p. 57.)

l. 27. Phillips, pp. xxvi, xxvii. The Dr. Davis, whose daughter Milton thought of marrying, has not been identified. (Masson, Life of Milton, iii. 438.) It has been suggested that she was the lady referred to in the 9th Sonnet 'Lady, that in the prime of earliest youth.' The reconciliation between Milton and his wife took place probably in July or August 1645. Professor Masson conceives that Milton may have embodied his recollections of the scene in two passages of his poems: 'Samson Agonistes,' 725–747, 'Paradise Lost,' x. 937–946.

l. 30. 'Areopagitica' appeared November 24, 1644. (Masson, Life of Milton, iii. 277.) The system of preliminary licensing against which Milton wrote came to an end in 1694. Its history is told by Professor Hales in the preface to his edition of the 'Areopagitica,' § 4.

P. 18, l. 19. Milton's poems are entered in the Stationers' registers under the date of October 6, 1645, but do not seem to have actually appeared till January 1646. (Masson, Life of Milton, iii. 450.) A portrait of the author by Marshall was prefixed to them, and Moseley, the publisher, inserted a preface, in which he said, 'I shall deserve of the age by bringing into the light as true a birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spenser wrote; whose poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated as sweetly excelled.'

l. 21. Milton's removal from Aldersgate to Barbican took place probably in September 1645. His house in Barbican was still in existence a few years ago, but was demolished to make room for a railway. (Masson, Life of Milton, iii. 443, 444.) Milton lived in Barbican for two years; during his residence there took place the deaths of his father (March, 1647) and his father-in-law (Jan. 1647). From July 1646 to the spring of 1647 the Powell family lived there with Milton.

P. 19, l. 15. Phillips, p. xxviii. As Johnson points out, there is no foundation for this story. It has been argued that Milton's familiarity with military details shows that he must have been at some time a soldier. This is contradicted by Milton's own words in his 'Defensio Secunda.' (Hales, Areopagitica, p. 144, ed. 1886; Masson, Life of Milton, ii. 472–487.)

l. 23. Milton's removal to High Holborn took place in 1647, not in 1645. 'It was not long after the march of Fairfax and Cromwell through the City of London, with the whole army, to quell the insurrections Browne and Massey, now malcontents also, were endeavouring to raise in the City against the army's proceedings, ere he left his great house in Barbican and betook himself to a smaller in High Holborn,

among those that open backwards into Lincoln's Inn Fields.' (Phillips, p. xxix.) The removal therefore must have taken place in September or October 1647. Milton now seems to have broken up his small school, and either stopped teaching altogether or confined himself to the instruction of his two nephews. Probably the death of his father, which took place in March 1647, and the consequent change in Milton's circumstances, enabled him to give up teaching. (Masson, iii. 643-666.) Here, says Phillips, 'he lived a private and quiet life, still prosecuting his studies and curious search into knowledge, the grand affair perpetually of his life.'

l. 27. 'The tenure of Kings and Magistrates; proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any, who have the power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and after due conviction, to depose and put him to death; if the ordinary magistrate have neglected or denied to do it. And that they, who, of late, so much blame deposing are the men that did it themselves. The author, J. M. London, printed by Matthew Simmons, at the Gilded Lion, in Aldersgate Street, 1649.' This was published on February 13, 1649, a fortnight after the King's death. (Masson, iv. 64.)

In the account of this work given by Milton in his 'Defensio Secunda,' he says that it was written during the King's trial, and was intended rather for composing the minds of men, than for causing any specific determination about Charles. (Ibid. p. 78.)

l. 29. Milton was appointed 'Secretary for Foreign Tongues' by the Council of State of the Commonwealth, on March 15, 1649. His salary was £288 a year, equal to about £1000 a year now. His duties were to translate into Latin the letters of the government to foreign powers, and to translate into English the letters of foreign princes to the Commonwealth. He was also occasionally charged to write declarations or pamphlets in defence of the government. On March 28, 1649, he was ordered to make some observations on the strange union of Irish Catholics and Irish Presbyterians with Ormond and the Irish Royalists. The articles of the peace made by Ormond with the Irish Catholics (January 17,

1649), and other letters and papers relating to the state of affairs in Ireland, were published in May 1649, in a small pamphlet. To this was added a commentary by Milton, headed 'Observations upon the Articles of Peace with the Irish Rebels, on the letter of Ormond to Col. Jones, and the representation of the Presbytery at Belfast.' (Masson, iv. 82–99.)

P. 20, l. 6. Εἰκὼν Βασιλική: The True Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings,' appeared early in February 1649. Though professing to be written by the King himself it was really the work of Dr. John Gauden (1605–1662). When the restoration came Gauden revealed his authorship, and was rewarded by a bishopric, first Exeter, then Worcester. Parliament gave orders for seizing the book on March 16, and Milton was ordered to answer it. Milton's reply, published on October 6, 1649, was entitled Εἰκονοκλάστης, i.e. 'The Image-Breaker.' The reason for choosing this title he explains in his preface. 'In one thing I must commend his openness who gave the title to this book, Eikon Basilike, that is to say the King's Image, and by the shrine he dresses out for him, certainly would have the people come and worship him, for which reason this answer also is entitled Eikonoklastes, the famous surname of many Greek emperors who, in their zeal to the command of God, after long tradition of idolatry in the church, took courage and broke all superstitious images to pieces.'

l. 18. The prayer in question is the first of four prayers printed at the end of Eikon Basilike, and headed 'Prayers used by His Majesty in the time of his sufferings.' The charge that it was interpolated by Milton is unsupported by any good evidence. The stories brought forward to prove it are a mixture of hearsay and conjecture of no value. For whatever evidence there is see Wagstaffe's 'Vindication of King Charles the Martyr,' ed. 1711, pp. 107, 116. For a refutation of it see Masson, Life of Milton, iv. 250, and Todd, Letter concerning the authorship of Eikon Basilike, 1825, p. 98.

l. 28. Claude de Saumaise, generally known by the latinised form of his name, Salmasius, was born in 1588, published his

'Defensio Regia pro Carolo I' in November 1649. Extracts from this work and a detailed account of Salmasius are given by Masson, iv. 162–185. A Jacobus was worth twenty shillings.

P. 21, l. 7. Milton was ordered to prepare something in answer to Salmasius on 8th January, 1650, and produced his 'Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio contra Salmasium' about March 1650. The criticism of Hobbes is, 'they are good Latin both, and hardly to be judged which is better; and both very ill reasoning, hardly to be judged which is worse; like two declarations, pro and con, made for exercise only in a rhetoric school by one and the same man.' (Behemoth.)

l. 13. The great defect of Milton's 'Defensio' is that instead of justifying the English people from the charges of rebellion and regicide, he devotes his whole strength to abuse of Salmasius. Landor observes that Milton 'hardly felt so much indignation as he expresses, but seized on bad models in his resolution to show his scholarship. Disputants and critics in particular followed one another with invectives, and he was thought to have given the most manifest proof of original genius who had invented a new form of reproach.' (Landor's Works, iv. 526; ed. 1876.)

l. 26. John Ker published in 1719 'Selectarum de Linguâ Latinâ Observationum libri duo.'

l. 31. Butler comments on this:

> 'So some polemics use to draw their swords
> Against the language only and the words:
> As he who fought at barriers with Salmasius
> Engaged with nothing but the style and phrases;
> Waived to assert the murther of a prince
> The author of false Latin to convince,
> But laid the merits of the cause aside,
> By those that understood them to be tried,
> And counted breaking Priscian's head a thing
> More capital than to behead a king,
> For which he has been admired by all the learn'd—
> Of knaves concern'd and pedants unconcern'd.'

P. 22, l. 2. The Council of State voted Milton a hundred pounds for his good service done in writing an answer to

Salmasius (June 18, 1651), but he refused to accept anything but their thanks. (Masson, iv. 321.)

l. 17. Whitelocke, while Ambassador in Sweden, asked the Queen 'if she had seen a book lately written in Latin by one Milton, an Englishman, and how she liked his style; she highly commended the matter of part of it, and the language.' (Whitelocke's Embassy to Sweden, i. 417.)

l. 24. Milton, in his 'Defensio Secunda,' boasts that the result of his answer to Salmasius was such a change in people's opinions, that he who had come to Sweden in honour went away in contempt. Salmasius left Sweden in September 1651, and on his departure the Queen gave him a pension of three thousand florins, and other gifts. His reputation was certainly much diminished by Milton's reply, but hardly to the extent claimed by Milton. (Masson, iv. 344.)

l. 26. 'Claudii Salmasii ad Johannem Miltonum Responsio' was published in September 1660. (Masson, vi. 203.)

P. 23, l. 4. 'Controvertist' is used by Johnson in the sense in which 'controversialist' is now used. In his Dictionary, Johnson defines 'controvertist' as 'a man versed or engaged in literary wars or disputations.'

l. 9. Compare Johnson's Life of Dryden, 'in the 32nd year of his life he commenced a writer for the stage.' In his Dictionary, Johnson defines 'commence' as meaning 'to take a new character,' and quotes as an illustration of this use

> 'If wit so much from ign'rance undergo,
> Ah, let not learning too commence its foe!'—*Pope.*

l. 16. Masson attributes to Milton a pamphlet in defence of Cromwell's expulsion of the Long Parliament, printed in May 1653, entitled 'A Letter to a Gentleman in the Country touching the dissolution of the late Parliament, and the reasons thereof.' It is signed N. LL. In answer to the objection that Cromwell's action in the dissolution was rough and barbarous, the author writes, 'As to his person, as he hath in the field declared himself one of the noblest assertors of our liberty, and as great an enlarger of our territories as ever was, so, as far as any particular designs of his own

in point of government, it must be a scrutiny greater than human that can discover how he either intended to invade us or to make us a prey to any ambition of his. And therefore, if upon this grand resolution he might appear to his enemies passionate, yet, considering the extremities that great minds fall into, and the great trust committed to him, it will appear nothing but the discharge of that duty that lay upon him.' (Masson, iv. 520–522.)

l. 23. Milton seems to have become totally blind about March 1652, at which time the Council of State appointed an Assistant Secretary for Foreign Tongues. In a letter to Leonard Philaras, written in September 1654, Milton describes the gradual decay of his sight; ten years earlier the sight of both eyes had become weak and dull, then the left eye failed entirely, and finally the labour of writing the 'Defensio pro Populo Anglicano' caused the complete failure of the other. (Masson, iv. 577, 640.) Milton states this in his 22nd sonnet ('Cyriac, this three years day these eyes, though clear'), and also in his 'Defensio Secunda.' 'When I was publicly solicited to write a reply to the Defence of the royal cause, when I had to contend with the pressure of sickness, and with the apprehension of soon losing the sight of my remaining eye, and when my medical attendants clearly announced, that if I did engage in the work, it would be irreparably lost, their premonitions caused no hesitation and inspired no dismay, I would not have listened to the voice even of Aesculapius himself from the shrine of Epidaurus, in preference to the suggestions of the heavenly monitor within my breast; my resolution was unshaken, though the alternative was either the loss of my sight, or the desertion of my duty. . . I consider that many had purchased a less good by a greater evil, the meed of glory by the loss of life: that though I am blind, I might still discharge the most honourable duties, the performance of which, as it is something more durable than glory, ought to be an object of superior admiration and esteem; I resolved therefore, to make the short interval of sight, which was left me to enjoy, as beneficial as possible to the public interest.' (Second Defence of the People of England,

trans. by Fellowes ; Milton's Works, ed. Bohn, i. 238.) Milton refers also to his blindness in Sonnet 19, in 'Paradise Lost' iii. 21–35, and 'Samson Agonistes,' 67–109.

l. 27. The exact date of the death of Milton's first wife is unknown: she died some time during the year 1652. The three daughters were Anne, born July 29, 1646; Mary, born October 25, 1648; Deborah, born May 2, 1652. A son, John, was born on March 16, 1650, and died about the same time as his mother. (Masson, Life of Milton, iv. 335, 468.)

l. 33. Milton married Katharine Woodcock on Nov. 12, 1656. In accordance with the Marriage Act of 1654 they were married by a Justice of the Peace, not by a clergyman. Katharine Milton's burial is entered in the register of St. Margaret's, Westminster, Feb. 10, 1658, and her infant child was buried on March 20 following. (Masson, Life of Milton, v. 281, 382.) Milton dedicated to his wife's memory Sonnet 20 ('Methought I saw my late espoused saint').

P. 24, l. 10. John Bramhall (1594–1663), bishop of Derry, then an exile at Antwerp. The book was answered by John Phillips, the elder of Milton's two nephews. The real author of the pamphlet in question was not Bramhall, but a certain John Rowland. (Masson, Life of Milton, iv. 347, 470, 533.)

l. 22. 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos,' 1652. Alexander Morus, son of a Scotchman settled in France, himself a Protestant minister, and Professor, first of Greek, afterwards of Theology, in the University of Geneva. In 1649 he became a Pastor in the Walloon Church at Middleburg, and also Professor of Theology there. Du Moulin, afraid to publish his book in England, sent it over to Holland, where it was printed under the supervision of Morus, who also added an abusive preface. When Morus heard that he was to be attacked as the author, he sent Milton assurances that he was not, but they were disbelieved, and Milton's 'Defensio Secunda,' savagely assailing Morus, appeared in May 1654. The statement that Morus gave his assailant the means of knowing the true author is incorrect. He confined himself to denying his own authorship, and not till the Restoration enabled Du Moulin to avow

his work does Milton seem to have known the truth. The statement that Milton knew the facts when he wrote his 'Defensio Secunda,' and that his pride prevented him from owning his mistake is made by Du Moulin himself in a work published in 1670, and repeated by Aubrey in his account of Milton; but seems nevertheless to have been untrue. (Masson, Life of Milton, iv. 630; v. 199, 220.)

P. 25, l. 23. Milton's 'Pro se Defensio contra Alexandrum Morum' was published on Aug. 8, 1655. (Masson, Life of Milton, v. 198.)

P. 26, l. 5. 'Scriptum Domini Protectoris Republicae Angliae etc. . . . in quo hujus republicae causa contra Hispanos justa esse demonstratur,' published Nov. 1655. 'Included in editions of Milton's prose writings, on the probability, though not quite the certainty, that it was Milton's performance. If so, it was the third great document in the nature of a declaration of war furnished by Milton for the Commonwealth, the two former having been his Latin version of the declaration of the causes of the war against the Scots in June 1650, and his similar version of the declaration against the Dutch in July 1652.' (Masson, Life of Milton, v. 240.)

l. 10. This took place in May 1656. Whitelocke, who gives a long account of this treaty, writes under May 6, 'The Swedish Ambassador again complained of the delays in his business, and that, when he had desired to have the articles of this treaty put into Latin, according to the custom in treaties, it was fourteen days they made him stay for that translation and sent it to one Mr. Milton, a blind man, to put them into Latin, who, he said, must use an amanuensis to read it to him, and that amanuensis might publish the matter of the articles as he pleased; and that it seemed strange to him there should be none but a blind man capable of putting a few articles into Latin . . . . The employment of Mr. Milton was excused to him, because several other servants of the Council, fit for that employment, were then absent.' (Memorials, iv. 256; ed. 1853.)

l. 16. This statement is based on Phillips' Life of Milton, p. xxxiv.

l. 26. Phillips describes this work as 'a new Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, according to the manner of Stephanus,' and says vaguely that 'what there was of it was made use of for another dictionary. According to Toland (p. 148) it was of great use to Dr. Littleton in compiling his dictionary.' Adam Littleton's Latin Dictionary was published in 1678. A third edition of it was printed at Cambridge in 1693, and this is the one referred to by Johnson. (Masson, vi. 813.)

P. 27, l. 6. Mansus, l. 80–85; Poetical Works, p. 616, Globe Edition. Dryden thought of writing an epic on King Arthur, and did write an opera bearing his name. Fenton alludes to Sir Richard Blackmore, who published in 1695 'Prince Arthur, an Heroic Poem, in Ten Books.' See Johnson's Life of Blackmore.

l. 8. These sketches are in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Milton made a list of subjects suitable for poetical treatment, which included 61 drawn from scripture, and 38 from British history. A complete digest of this list is given by Masson, Life of Milton, ii. 105. Thomas Birch had before printed it in his Life of Milton, 1738. The notes were made by Milton between 1639 and 1642. Trinity College library also contains the manuscripts of 'Arcades,' 'Lycidas,' 'Comus,' four sonnets, and three of the minor poems. (Masson, Life of Milton, iii. 452).

l. 12. 'This subject was first designed a Tragedy, and in the fourth book of the poem there are ten verses, which several years before the poem was begun, were shewn to me and some others, as designed for the very beginning of the said tragedy. The verses are these' (Paradise Lost, iv. 31–41)—Phillips, p. xxxv. According to Aubrey, the time when these verses were shown to Phillips was 'about fifteen or sixteen years before even his Poem was thought of; which verses were intended for the beginning of a tragedy which he had designed but was diverted from it by other business.' (Letters from the Bodleian, p. 446.) The business mentioned was the composition of Milton's political pamphlets, which began in 1641. About that period, therefore, he must have abandoned the idea of writing the tragedy for which these verses were designed. (Masson, v. 407.)

P. 31, l. 8. 'The Cabinet Council: containing the chief Arts of Empire and Mysteries of State, discabineted in political and polemical Aphorisms, grounded on authority and experience; and illustrated with the choicest examples and historical observations by the ever-renowned Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh. Published by John Milton, Esq.' This was published in May 1658.

l. 11. Milton published in February 1659 'A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes, shewing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion.' This was followed in August 1659 by 'Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church. Wherein is also discoursed of Tithes, Church fees, Church revenues, and whether any maintenance of Ministers can be settled by Law.' The first of these treatises concluded in favour of full liberty of worship for all sects professing to be Christians, with the exception of the Roman Catholics. The second argued against any state-establishment of religion, and in favour of the disendowment of the existing Church establishment. 'Two things there be which have ever been found working much mischief to the Church of God and the advancement of faith, force on the one side restraining, and hire on the other side corrupting the teachers thereof.' Johnson seems to confuse these two pamphlets and make them into one. Probably, however, he originally wrote 'gratified his malevolence to the clergy by a treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes' and 'The means of removing Hirelings out of the Church.'

l. 19. Johnson refers to the letter now appearing in Milton's works under the title 'A Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth,' dated October 20, 1659, and first published from the manuscript in Toland's edition of Milton's Works, 1698. Milton also wrote a second letter, likewise first published by Toland, and entitled by him 'The Present Means and Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth, easy to be put in practice and without delay; in a letter to General Monk.' (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 617, 656.)

l. 20. Sonnet 22, l. 7.

l. 25. 'The Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth, and the excellency thereof, compared with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship in this nation. The author, J. M.' This was published about the end of February or beginning of March 1660, and followed by a second and enlarged edition in April. None of Milton's pamphlets attracted more immediate attention or more violent criticism. (Masson, Life of Milton, v. 645, 677.)

l. 30. James Harrington (1611–1677) published in 1656 'The Commonwealth of Oceana.' In 1659 he was very active in publishing pamphlets setting forth his constitutional schemes, and in September of that year established a club for the debating of political questions, which met in the New Palace Yard at Westminster and continued its meetings till about February 1660. The Club was generally known as 'the Rota.' One of Harrington's chief principles was the substitution of rotation for election as a means of appointment to office.

P. 32, l. 1. 'The Fear of God and the King. Pressed in a Sermon preached at Mercer's Chapel on the 25th of March, 1660, by Matthew Griffith, D.D., chaplain to the late King.' Milton's answer was headed: 'Brief notes upon a late Sermon, titled "The Fear of God and the King." . . . . . Wherein many notorious wrestings of Scripture, and other falsities are observed.' (Masson, Life of Milton, v. 667, 675.)

l. 3. L'Estrange's answer appeared about April 25, when the Restoration was already in progress. L'Estrange begins thus: 'Mr. Milton, in your life and doctrine you have resolved one great question, by evidencing that devils may indue human shapes.' Roger L'Estrange (1616–1704) was after the Restoration for many years the chief Censor of the Press with the title of 'Surveyor-general of the Imprimery and printing presses.' He was also the chief official journalist of the reign of Charles II, and during the years 1681–4 published a paper called the Observator. Macaulay, in describing this paper, characterises L'Estrange as 'by no means deficient in readiness and shrewdness; and his diction, though course and disfigured by a mean and

flippant jargon which then passed for wit, was not without keenness and vigour. But his nature, at once ferocious and ignoble, shows itself in every line that he penned.' As a pamphleteer L'Estrange was nearly as productive as William Prynne, and besides writing pamphlets translated Aesop, Seneca's Morals, and Josephus.

l. 8. Milton's last Latin letters for the government were written in May 1659 for the restored Long Parliament, but he continued nominally Secretary for Foreign Tongues till March or April 1660. (Masson, Life of Milton, v. 674.)

l. 12. 'His next removal was by the advice of those that wished him well and had a concern for his preservation, into a place of retirement and abscondence, till such time as the current of affairs for the future should instruct him what further course to take; it was a friend's house in Bartholomew-Close, where he lived till the Act of Oblivion came forth.' Phillips, p. xxxvii. (Masson, vi. 162.)

l. 17. Johnson himself omits to mention the place of Milton's residence during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Milton removed early in 1649 from his house in High Holborn to lodgings at Spring Gardens, Charing Cross, in order to be near the council. In November 1649 he was assigned lodgings at Whitehall, which seem to have been situated at the Scotland Yard end of the old palace. Phillips describes them as in Scotland Yard. In December 1651 he removed to what Phillips calls 'a pretty garden-house, in Petty France, in Westminster, next door to the Lord Scudamore's and opening into St. James's Park. (p. xxxiii.) There he lived till May 1660. This house was in existence up to 1877, known then as 19 York Street, Westminster. It was owned at the beginning of the present century by Jeremy Bentham, who put up a tablet on it, with the inscription 'Sacred to Milton, Prince of Poets.' In 1811 William Hazlitt came to live there as Bentham's tenant. (Masson, iv. 419.)

l. 31. The King announced in his Declaration from Breda, April 4, 1660, that he granted a free pardon to all his subjects 'excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be

excepted by Parliament.' The House of Commons began by excepting all regicides and persons concerned in the King's trial. They resolved also that twenty other persons, not regicides, but men regarded as politically dangerous, or as the chief culprits, should be excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and reserved for punishment not extending to life. There was great danger that Milton, as the apologist of regicide, would be included in this class. Whilst the House of Commons were selecting these twenty, they issued the two orders mentioned by Johnson. The orders were that the King should be requested to issue a royal proclamation for the calling in of all copies of Milton's 'Eikonoklastes,' and the first 'Defence of the People of England'; also of all copies of John Goodwin's 'Obstructors of Justice,' in order that all might be burnt by the hangman. A second order was that the Attorney General should be instructed to prosecute Milton and Goodwin, and it was also resolved that both should be taken into custody by the Sergeant-at-Arms. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 39, 167.) The proclamation desired was issued on August 13, and the newspapers of the time record the burning of copies of Milton's books 'at the Session-house in the Old Bailey' in September. (Ibid. vi. 181, 193.)

P. 33, l. 12. Burnet says that Milton 'escaped all censure.' 'Milton had appeared so boldly, though with much wit and great purity and elegance of style, against Salmasius and others, upon that argument of putting the King to death, and had discovered such violence against the late King and all the royal family, and against monarchy, that it was thought a strange omission if he was forgotten, and an odd strain of clemency if it was intended he should be forgiven. He was not excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. And afterwards he came out of his concealment, and lived many years much visited by all strangers, and much admired by all at home for the poems he wrote, though he was then blind; chiefly that of "Paradise Lost," in which there is a nobleness both of contrivance and execution, that, though he affected to write in blank verse without rhyme, and made

many new and rough words, yet it was esteemed the most beautiful and perfect poem that ever was written, at least in our language.' (Burnet's Own Time, p. 107: ed. 1838.)

l. 16. Andrew Marvell (1620–1678) the poet, then member for Hull, according to Phillips, 'acted vigorously in his behalf and made a considerable party for him.' Sir Thomas Clarges was Monk's brother-in-law, and therefore enjoyed considerable influence at this time. Sir William Morrice, another of Monk's friends, was by his influence made Secretary of State, which post he held until 1668.

l. 26. Richardson tells this story in the life of Milton prefixed to his notes on 'Paradise Lost' published in 1734, and mentions Clarges and Morrice as the two persons whose influence in the House of Commons secured Milton's escape. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 185.) Sir William Davenant (1605–1658) was made prisoner in 1650, just after Ascham, the agent of the Commonwealth in Spain, had been murdered there by some exiled royalists. The Parliament in retaliation ordered Davenant and five others to be tried by a High Court of Justice, and it is on this occasion that Milton is supposed to have interceded for Davenant's life. There is no evidence to support Richardson's story.

l. 20. On December 15, 1660, the House of Commons ordered that Milton, who was then in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, should be released on payment of the Sergeant's fees. The Sergeant, however, demanded the exorbitant sum of £150, and on Marvell's motion the question of the amount to be paid was referred to the Committee for Privileges for decision. What they decided is not known. The largeness of the sum demanded for fees makes it probable that Milton had been some time in prison. He was probably arrested just before the passing of the Indemnity Bill, between August 13 and August 29. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 192.)

P. 34, l. 23. 'Jewin Street still exists. It is a narrowish slightly winding and not untidy street, going off from Aldersgate Street on the right as you leave the City, and connecting that street with Red Cross Street and the vicinity

of Cripplegate Church. . . No house extant in the present Jewin Street is remembered as that once occupied by Milton.' (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 407.)

l. 28. Dr. Nathan Paget, a physician of much repute during the Commonwealth, and Censor to the College of Physicians in 1655, 1657, and 1659. Elizabeth Minshull was a cousin of Dr. Paget's, born in 1638 and therefore about 25 years old at the time of her marriage. The marriage took place in the church of St. Mary Aldermary on February 24, 166$\frac{2}{3}$. (Masson, vi. 454–474.) This marriage at least contributed much to Milton's comfort.. Elizabeth Fisher, the poet's servant, deposed to hearing him say to his wife: 'God have mercy, Betty; I see thou wilt perform according to thy promise in providing me such dishes as I think fit; and when I die, thou knowest that I have left thee all.'

P. 35, l. 3. No such statement as the one in the text is made by Phillips, but Birch says so, on the authority of Mrs. Clarke, Milton's daughter. (Life of Milton, 1738, p. 62.) The details of the division of Milton's property after his death, given by Professor Masson, do not show that the daughters were cheated by the widow. Milton left his three daughters by his first wife simply the portion due to him from Mary Powell's family. Everything else he left to his third wife. But as his will was made merely by word of mouth and not properly attested, the matter seems to have concluded with a compromise, by which the widow obtained two-thirds and the daughters one-third between them.

l. 8. The story comes through Richardson, who represents Milton as saying, 'Thou art in the right: you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man.' Johnson's disbelief is thoroughly justified. (Masson, vi. 638.)

l. 27. Johnson misdates this book, which was published in 1669. 'Accidence commenced Grammar, supplied with sufficient rules, for the use of such, younger or elder, as are desirous without more trouble than needs to attain the Latin tongue, the elder sort especially, with little teaching and their own industry, by John Milton, 1669.' (Masson, vi. 640.)

l. 37. 'The History of Thomas Ellwood, written by himself,' pp. 132-6 (Morley's Universal Library). Ellwood's acquaintance with Milton seems to have begun early in 1662, and he continued to act as Milton's reader for about six weeks. He describes Milton as 'a gentleman of great note for learning throughout the learned world, for the accurate pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions. This person, having filled a public station in the former times, lived now a private and retired life in London, and having wholly lost his sight, kept always a man to read to him; which usually was the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom in kindness he took to improve his learning.'

P. 36, l. 28. Chapter 9 of Voltaire's 'Essai sur la Poésie Epique' (usually printed at the end of the Henriade), is devoted to Milton. 'Milton,' says Voltaire, 'travelling in Italy in his youth saw performed at Milan, a comedy called "Adam, or Original Sin," written by a certain Andreino and dedicated to Mary de Medicis, Queen of France. The subject of the comedy was the fall of man. The personages were God the Father, the devils, the angels, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the Seven deadly Sins. This subject, well worthy of the absurd genius of the theatre of that age, was treated in a manner which matched the conception. The scene opens with a chorus of angels, and Michael speaks in the name of his fellows, "Let the rainbow be the fiddle-stick of the fiddle of Heaven; let the seven planets be the seven notes of our music; let time beat the measure and the winds play the organ." All the play is in this style. . . Milton,' continues Voltaire, 'discovered the sublimity of the subject, hidden though it was by the absurdity of the piece, and conceived the idea of making a tragedy out of Andreino's farce, which tragedy he afterwards turned into an epic.' (Voltaire, Works, ed. 1819, vol. viii. p. 414.) Giovanni Battista Andreini (1578-1652) published his 'Adamo' in 1613. An account of it and of other works to which Milton is said to have been indebted in 'Paradise Lost,' is to be found in Masson's Globe edition of Milton's Poetical Works, p. 9. Pope told Spence that he had

Andreini's 'Adamo,' and did not find that Milton had taken anything from it.' (Spence's Anecdotes, p. 176.)

P. 38, l. 33. The passages referred to by Johnson are Phillips, 'Life of Milton,' p. 36; Toland, 'Life of Milton,' p. 127; Richardson, 'Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost,' 1734, p. cxiv. It has been suggested that Phillips meant the reverse of what he wrote, but this is disproved by the fact that he had told exactly the same story to Aubrey: 'all the time of his writing his Paradise Lost his vein began at the autumnal equinoctial and ceased at the vernal or thereabouts, I believe about May, and this was four or five years of his doing it.' (Aubrey, Lives, p. 447.) The elegy which Toland refers to in support of his opinion is that 'In Adventum Veris,' l. 5, written in Milton's twenty-first year.

P. 39, l. 9. Hellebore was much used by the ancients as a remedy for mental diseases. See Horace, Satires, ii. 3. 82; Juvenal xiii. 97; Drayton, Polyolbion, Bk. xiii, 'and melancholy cures by sovereign Hellebore'; Sir Thomas Browne, Religio Medici, p. 120, ed. Greenhill, 'To me avarice seems not so much a vice as a deplorable piece of madness; to conceive ourselves pipkins, or to be persuaded that we are dead, is not so ridiculous, nor so many degrees beyond the power of Hellebore.'

l. 24. This opinion is said to have been first propagated by Dr. Gabriel Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, in a work entitled 'The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature proved by Natural Reason,' 1616. It was confuted by Dr. George Hakewill, in 'An Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World,' 1635.

P. 40, l. 2. These fears are expressed by Milton in the 'Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty,' pt. ii.: 'If to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories.' Prose Works, ed. 1848, ii. 479. See also 'Paradise Lost,' ix. 41–47.

l. 16. See note to p. 8, l. 9.

l. 23. 'When any work has been viewed and admired,' writes Johnson in his Life of Butler, 'the first question of intelligent curiosity is, how was it performed?' In answer to this he describes the manner in which Butler collected the hints and observations from which Hudibras was developed. In the same way, in his Life of Pope, he gives specimens of the earliest versions of his translation of the Iliad to show 'how it was performed and by what gradations it advanced to correctness.' As in the case of Milton he devotes some space to Pope's artifices of composition.

l. 32. Richardson's explanatory notes, etc., p. cxiv.

P. 41, l. 12. Johnson follows Newton and Birch, whose information came from Elizabeth Foster, Milton's granddaughter. Nevertheless the statement that Milton's daughters were never taught to write is far too sweeping. 'The eldest daughter (Anne) could read, but could not write, her bodily deformity having prevented that accomplishment or made it seem needless; the second (Mary) could read well, and write tolerably; the youngest (Deborah), who was to be the best penwoman of the three, and the best bookwoman, can have had but a child's scrawl and a child's power of reading in the Jewin Street days.' (Masson vi. 447.) The daughter referred to in Richardson's story would probably be Mary Milton, her elder sister being unable to write, her younger sister still a child at the time when 'Paradise Lost' was written.

l. 15. It is an exaggeration to say that Milton employed any casual visitor. Phillips simply states that he was employed from time to time to correct what had been written by others, 'by whatever hand came next.' See the passage quoted on p. 38, l. 15–18.

l. 19. Compare what Johnson writes in his Life of Pope. 'It is related of Virgil that his custom was to pour out a great number of verses in the morning, and to pass the day in retrenching exuberances, and correcting inaccuracies. The method of Pope, as may be collected from his translation, was to write his first thoughts in his first words, and gradually to amplify, decorate, rectify, and refine them.'

Pope despatched about fifty verses a day whilst translating the Iliad. (Lives of the Poets, iv. 35, 155; ed. 1794.)

l. 21. Paradise Lost, vii. 29; ix. 22.

l. 24. Paradise Lost, ix. 24.

l. 30. Paradise Lost, iii. 1–55; vii. 32; i. 497.

P. 42, l. 8. Paradise Lost, vii. 25.

l. 27. 'I was desired by my quondam master, Milton, to take a house for him in the neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the city for the safety of himself and his family, the pestilence then growing hot in London. I took a pretty box for him in Giles Chalfont, a mile from me, of which I gave him notice.' (History of Thomas Ellwood, p. 199, ed. 1885.) The cottage occupied by Milton at Chalfont St. Giles still exists. (Masson, vi. 492.)

l. 31. 'I soon made a visit to him to welcome him into the country. After some common discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his, which being brought, he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon. When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he entitled "Paradise Lost." After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book with due acknowledgment of the favours he had done me in communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it, which I modestly but freely told him, and after some further discourse about it I pleasantly said to him "Thou hast said much here of 'Paradise Lost,' but what hast thou to say of 'Paradise Found'?" He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse, then brake off that discourse and fell upon another subject.' (Life of Ellwood, p. 199, ed. Morley.)

P. 43, l. 6. By an act of May 1662, the duty of licensing books of general literature had been assigned to the Secretaries of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, who deputed their powers to a staff of licensers. The licenser of 'Paradise Lost' was Thomas Tomkyns, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

According to Toland the world 'had like to be deprived of this treasure by the ignorance or malice of the licenser, who, among other frivolous exceptions, would needs suppress the whole poem for imaginary treason in the following lines' (Bk. i. l. 595–599). (Life of Milton, 1699, p. 130.) Tomkyns can hardly have read 'Paradise Lost' through, or the account of the origin of monarchy in Bk. xii. l. 24–101, and the passage against false teachers, Bk. xii. l. 508–537, would scarcely have escaped his censure.

l. 14. The agreement is printed by Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 509. The original of the agreement was bought by Samuel Rogers, the poet, in 1831, for a hundred guineas, and presented by him, in 1852, to the British Museum. The signature to the contract, however, is not Milton's own, but that of some one else writing on his behalf. According to the present value of money £5 might be estimated at £17 10*s.* or £20.

l. 18. 'Copies of the book may have been out in London in the last week of August 1667. The selling price was three shillings per copy, which is as if a similar book were now to cost 10*s.* 6*d.* The volume was of small quarto size and of rather handsome appearance, with good yellowish paper and good legible type.' (Masson, vi. 516.)

l. 18. Although the 1500 copies, constituting the first edition of 'Paradise Lost,' were all printed off about August 1667, they were not bound up and issued to the public at once, but sold in successive instalments, with varying title-pages, as the demand developed. The copies of the first edition have at least nine different forms of title-page, two dated 1667, four 1668, and three 1669. The earliest title-page gave the name of John Milton in full; some of the others bore only the initials J. M. The arguments to the ten books, and the apology for blank verse, first appeared in the fifth issue in 1668. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 621–628.)

l. 23. Twelfth book is of course a slip of Johnson's for tenth book.

l. 33. In the same manner Johnson carefully traces the trade history of Pope's Iliad, and computes the gains of the

author to be £5320 4s. (Lives of the Poets, iv. 32–41, ed. 1794.)

P. 44, l. 33. The first four folio editions of Shakespeare appeared in 1623, 1632, 1663–4, and 1685 respectively.

P. 45, l. 7. The third edition of 'Paradise Lost' appeared in 1678, others in 1688, 1692, 1695.

l. 16. The progress of the reputation of 'Paradise Lost' from 1667 to 1688 was slow but steady; from 1688 to the end of the century it was more rapid. In the next century the neglect of 'Paradise Lost' by contemporaries was much exaggerated. Cunningham, in his edition of Johnson's Lives of the Poets (i. 124), quotes a number of extracts to prove the general neglect of Milton. For instance, Blackmore writes in 1716 that 'Paradise Lost' 'lay many years unspoken of and entirely disregarded, till at length it happened that some persons of greater judgment and delicacy found out the merit of that excellent poem, and by communicating their sentiments to their friends, propagated the esteem of the author, who soon acquired universal applause.' But from the moment of the publication of 'Paradise Lost,' Milton had a select band of admirers who rapidly increased. Foremost amongst these was Andrew Marvell, whose poem was prefixed to the second edition of 'Paradise Lost,' together with some Latin verses by Samuel Barrow, an eminent physician of the Restoration period (printed in the Globe edition of Milton's Poetical Works, pp. 37–39). Dryden's mentions of Milton testify to a great and increasing appreciation of his merits. A traditional anecdote of rather doubtful authenticity represents him as saying on first reading 'Paradise Lost,' 'This man cuts us all out and the ancients too' (Masson, vi. 631). The absence of rhyme was in his eyes the great defect of the poem, and he asked Milton's leave 'to put his Paradise Lost into a drama in rhyme. Mr. Milton received him cordially, and told him he would give him leave to tag his verses.' (Aubrey, iii. 444.) Accordingly in 1674 there was published 'The State of Innocence and Fall of Man,' an opera dedicated to the Duchess of York. In the preface he describes his original as 'undoubtedly one of the greatest,

most noble, most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced.' (Works, ed. 1808, v. 106.) Dryden's six lines on Milton ('Three poets in three distant ages born') were written for the 1688 edition of 'Paradise Lost,' to be engraved beneath Milton's portrait. In the 'Essay on Satire,' prefixed to Dryden's translation from Juvenal, there is a long criticism of 'Paradise Lost,' and there are many allusions in his other critical prefaces. (Works, ed. 1808, xiii. pp. 19–21; xiv. p. 142.) Even at the court, amongst the noblemen who shone as poets and wits, Milton found admirers. Roscommon, in his 'Essay on Translated Verse,' ended with a condemnation of rhyme, and a specimen of blank verse, a cento from 'Paradise Lost,' as an example of the highest poetry the British muse had attained. John Sheffield, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, in his 'Essay on Poetry' (1682), classed Milton with the greatest poets. The epic poet, he said,

'Must above Cowley, nay, and Milton too prevail,
Succeed where great Torquato and our greater Spenser fail.'

Johnson, in his Life of Sheffield, points out that in the last editions of this poem 'Milton was advanced to the highest place, and the passage thus adjusted':

'Must above Tasso's lofty flights prevail,
Succeed where Spenser and e'en Milton fail.'

Hostile criticisms during the same period were not lacking. Cunningham quotes several examples, and others are given by Masson (vi. 783). But the multiplication of editions is a solid proof of Milton's popularity. A German translation of 'Paradise Lost' was published in 1682; a Latin translation of the first book in 1686; and in 1688 came Tonson's sumptuous subscription folio. A sixth edition of 'Paradise Lost,' with an elaborate commentary, was published in 1695. Addison's criticisms in the 'Spectator' began in 1712, when nine editions of 'Paradise Lost' had been published.

P. 46. Phillips, Life of Milton, p. xli. The result of this system was a breach between Milton and his daughters. Elizabeth Fisher, Milton's servant, deposed during the trial of the dispute relating to the poet's will that he told her 'that

his children did combine together and counsel his maid to cheat him in her marketings, and that his children had made away some of his books and would have sold the rest of his books to the dunghill women.' This took place apparently before Milton's third marriage. About 1670 the daughters seem to have been boarded out and put to learn the trades mentioned by Phillips. The same witness deposed that Anne Milton was able to live by her trade of making gold and silver lace. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 446, 650, 738. Todd, Life of Milton, 1852, p. 183.)

l. 31. 'The History of Britain,' that part especially now called England, from the first traditional beginning, 'continued to the Norman Conquest, collected out of the antientest and best authors thereof by John Milton,' 1670. A history of England was one of Milton's early schemes, and the first four books were finished before he became Latin Secretary. A portrait of Milton by Faithorne is prefixed to this work.

P. 47, l. 10. In 1681 appeared a publication professing to be part of Milton's History of England. 'Mr. John Milton's character of the Long Parliament and assembly of Divines.' This is now generally inserted at the beginning of the third book of Milton's History, but Professor Masson doubts whether it really ought to form part of that work. He suggests it was written by Milton about 1648, but cancelled by the author himself and not by the licenser. (Life of Milton, vi. 806–812.) The story of the gift of the suppressed passages to the Earl of Anglesea is told by Phillips and Toland.

l. 25. 'After the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, which I seldom failed of doing whenever my occasions drew me to London, he showed me his second poem, called "Paradise Regained," and in a pleasant tone said to me, "This is owing to you, for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."' (Life of Ellwood, p. 200.)

l. 27. Phillips not Ellwood is the person to whom Johnson should have referred. Phillips says of 'Paradise Regained,'

'It is generally censured to be much inferior to the other, though he could not hear with patience any such thing when related to him; possibly the subject may not afford such variety of invention, but it is thought by the most judicious to be little or nothing inferior to the other for style and decorum.' (Life, prefixed to Letters of State, 1694, p. xxxix.) This does not bear out the inference that Milton himself preferred Paradise Regained to Paradise Lost.

P. 48, l. 7. Wordsworth was perhaps thinking of this when he wrote the last line of his sonnet on Milton:

> 'So didst thou travel on life's common way
> In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
> The lowliest duties on herself did lay.'

Compare also Johnson's praise of Dr. Watts: 'Every man acquainted with the common principles of human action will look with veneration on the writer, who is at one time combating Locke, and at another making a catechism for children in their fourth year. A voluntary descent from the dignity of science is perhaps the hardest lesson that humility can teach.' (Lives of the Poets, ed. 1794.)

l. 18. This volume, a duodecimo, contains a portrait of Milton by Dolle reduced from the one by Faithorne prefixed to his 'History of Britain.'

Peter Ramus, born in Picardy in 1515, killed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day 1572, was an educational reformer. He attacked the philosophy of Aristotle, and formulated a new system of logic in opposition to his. The logic of Aristotle was maintained in the Catholic universities, while that of Ramus was adopted in the Protestant universities of Europe during the last part of the sixteenth century. The new logic found a ready reception in Cambridge, and that university became in the earlier part of the seventeenth century specially noted for the study of the Ramistic logic. (Bass Mullinger, History of the University of Cambridge, ii. 404-412.)

l. 22. 'Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and what best means may be used against the growth of Popery,' 1673. This tract was called forth by the controversies

excited by Charles the Second's Declaration of Indulgence (March 1672), and the passing of the 'Test Act,' 1673. Milton had expressed himself to the same effect in 'Areopagitica': 'I mean not tolerated Popery and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religious and civil supremacies so itself should be extirpat, provided first that all charitable and compassionate means be used to win and regain the weak and misled.' (Areopagitica, p. 54, ed. Hales.) In his Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes,' published in 1659, he advocated a far wider toleration, though even then he refused to allow the Catholics the public exercise of their religion.

P. 49, l. 9. The additions in the second edition of Milton's minor poems (1673) are: (1) nine sonnets, nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, and that on the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament; (2) Translations done at various times, viz. the fifth ode of the first book of Horace, Psalms i–viii, Psalms lxxx–lxxxviii; (3) Two of the earlier poems, viz. 'On the Death of a Fair Infant,' and 'At a Vacation Exercise;' (4) Two Latin poems and a Greek epigram. (Masson vi. 688.)

l. 12. 'Joannis Miltonii Angli Epistolarum Familiarium Liber Unus: Quibus accesserunt Ejusdem, jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis, Prolusiones Quaedam Oratoriae,' 1674. An account of the college exercises is given by Masson (Life of Milton, vol. i. pp. 239–274). The letters were thirty-one in number; some were addressed to his first preceptors Gill and Young, others to his pupil Richard Jones, Viscount Ranelagh, two to his friend Charles Diodati, and many to foreign scholars. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 723.)

l. 19. 'He was very healthy, and free from all diseases, only towards his latter end he was visited with the gout, spring and fall. Seldom took any physic, only sometimes he took manna. He would be very cheerful even in his gout fits, and sing.' (Aubrey, Letters from the Bodleian, ii–449.)

l. 23. 'He had a very decent interment according to his quality, in the Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, being attended from his house to the Church by several gentlemen then in town, his principal well-wishers and admirers.' (Phillips,

p. xl.) 'All his learned and great friends in London, not without a friendly concourse of the vulgar, accompanied his body.' (Toland, p. 149.) He died on the 8th of November, 'with so little pain that the time of his expiring was not perceived by those in the room.' The funeral took place on November 12. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 731.)

l. 28. William Benson, Surveyor of the Buildings to King George I, erected a monument to Milton in Westminster Abbey in 1737. Pope refers to this in the Dunciad, iii. 325, 'On poets' tombs see Benson's titles writ.'

l. 31. John Phillips (1676–1708), whose life is the twelfth in order in Johnson's Lives of the Poets. He endeavoured to copy Milton's style, and wrote three poems in blank verse, viz. 'The Splendid Shilling' (1703), 'Blenheim' (1705), and 'Cyder' (1708). Of 'The Campaign,' which Macaulay quotes in his essay on Addison, Tickell wrote:

> 'Phillips, by Phoebus and his Aldrich taught,
> Sings with that heat wherewith his Churchill fought;
> Unfetter'd in great Milton's strain he writes,
> Like Milton's angels, whilst his hero fights,
> Pursues the bard, whilst he with honour can,
> Equals the poet, and excels the man.'—*Oxford*, l. 263–268.

Richardson mentions the opposition to the erection of Milton's monument: 'The circumstances of his family excused a monument, nor was any such necessary. I have heard however that one was a few years ago intended to have been set up for him in Westminster Abbey; by whom I know not; but it was not permitted upon account of his political opinions.' (Explanatory notes and remarks on Paradise Lost, 1734, p. 97.) Dr. Sprat (1636–1713) became Dean of Westminster in 1683, and Bishop of Rochester in 1684. His life is the nineteenth in Johnson's Lives. Francis Atterbury (1662–1732) succeeded Sprat as Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester. His epitaph on Phillips is printed in Johnson's Life of Phillips.

P. 50. 'He had light brown hair. His complexion exceeding fair. (He was so fair that they called him the Lady of Christ's College.) Oval face, his eye a dark grey.' (Aubrey,

ii. 442.) 'He was middle sized and well proportioned, his deportment erect and manly, his hair of a light brown, his features exactly regular, his complexion wonderfully fair when a youth, and ruddy to the very last.' (Toland, p. 149.)

l. 10. Paradise Lost, iv. 301–3.

l. 13. 'Not short and thick, but he would have been so had he been something shorter and thicker than he was.' (Richardson, p. ii.) Milton, in his 'Defensio Secunda,' gives a description of himself which is thus translated by Toland: 'My stature I confess is not extraordinary tall, yet I am rather a middle-sized than a little man . . . Neither am I so slender; for I was strong and capable enough in my youth to handle my weapons, and to exercise daily fencing: so that wearing a sword by my side, as became a gentleman, I thought myself a match for those that were much stronger, and was not afraid of receiving an affront from anybody.'

l. 30. Milton's daily habits in his last years are described by Toland and Aubrey, on whose accounts this summary is based.

P. 51, l. 6. The publication of 'Paradise Lost' increased the number of Milton's visitors. Phillips, writing of the time when Milton lived in Artillery Walk, remarks, 'The Earl of Anglesea, came often here to visit him, as very much coveting his society and converse; as likewise others of the nobility, and many persons of eminent quality; nor were the visits of foreigners ever more frequent than in this place, almost to his dying day.' (p. xl.) Aubrey, speaking of an earlier period, says: 'He was visited by the learned much more than he did desire; . . . foreigners came much to see him and much admired him, . . . and the only inducement of several foreigners that came over into England was chiefly to see Oliver Protector and Mr. J. Milton; and would see the house and chamber where he was born.' (Letters from the Bodleian, iii. 443.)

l. 28. Phillips gives the following account of Milton's pecuniary affairs: 'He is said to have died worth £1500 in money (a considerable estate, all things considered), besides household goods; for he sustained such losses as might well have broke any person less frugal and temperate than him-

self; no less than £2000 which he had put for security and improvement into the Excise Office, but neglecting to recall it in time could never get it out, with all the power and interest he had in the great ones of those times; besides another great sum by mismanagement and for want of good advice.' (p. xliii.) Toland simply copies the account of Phillips. The transactions relating to the settlement of Milton's affairs after his death prove that his property came to about £1000 or rather less. (Masson, vi. 743.) Wood adds to the facts given by Phillips the statement that 'by the great fire in 1666 a house in Bread Street, belonging to the poet, was burnt, which was all the real estate he then had left.' (Athenae Oxonienses, Fasti, 1635.) The story about the estate belonging to Westminster Abbey, acquired by Milton, and lost at the Restoration, rests on the authority of Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, and first appears in Birch's Life of Milton, 1738.

l. 33. A dispute took place about Milton's will. He left no written will, but announced his intentions by word of mouth to his brother, Christopher Milton: 'The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her; but I have received no part of it: and my will and meaning is they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion and what I have besides done for them, they having been very undutiful to me. And all the residue of my estate I leave to the disposal of Elizabeth, my loving wife.' A will made in this manner, a nuncupative will, was valid if certain conditions were observed, but on inquiry in the Prerogative Court of Chancery, it was decided that the necessary conditions had not been fulfilled, and the widow's application for probate was refused. Letters of Administration were granted to her however, and the result was that she received two-thirds of the property of her husband, and the remaining third was divided between the daughters. The daughters received £100 each, and the widow about £600. The question of the dowry of Mary Powell, which the Powell family had never paid, seems to have been left for future arrangement. Johnson's strictures on the conduct of the widow seem to

be undeserved. She removed to Nantwich about 1681 and died in 1727. (Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 727–747.)

P. 52, l. 12. The history of this copy of Euripides is traced by Masson (Life of Milton, i. 531, ed. 1859).

l. 15. *Spenser.*—'Milton,' says Dryden, 'was the poetical son of Spenser. Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original.' (Dryden, Preface to Fables, Globe ed. p. 494.) In 'Areopagitica' Milton terms Spenser 'our sage and serious poet, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas.' He refers to him also in Il Penseroso, l. 116–120. Other references are given by Hales, 'Areopagitica,' pp. 18, 96. Milton's admiration for Shakespeare is shown by the poem prefixed to the 1632 folio Shakespeare ('What needs my Shakspeare for his honoured bones'). It is often said that Milton as he grew more puritanical adopted the prejudices of his party, and denounced King Charles for reading 'one whom we well knew was the closet companion of his solitudes, William Shakespeare.' But the passage in the 'Eikonoklastes,' in which Shakespeare is thus mentioned, does not bear out this charge. Newton states that Milton's widow when asked 'whom he approved most of our English poets,' answered, 'Spenser, Shakspeare and Cowley'; and being asked 'what he thought of Dryden,' she said 'Dryden used sometimes to visit him, but he thought him no poet, but a good rimist.' (Newton's Milton, ed. 1754, p. lxv.)

l. 32. Milton's religious views are summed up in a Latin treatise on religion which he left in manuscript. It was discovered in the Record Office in 1823, and published two years later by Charles Sumner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. Sumner also published an English translation of it, entitled 'A posthumous treatise on the Christian doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone, in two books: by John Milton.' An analysis of this treatise is given by Masson, Life of Milton, vi. 817. Had it been known to Johnson he could not have described Milton as 'untainted by any heretical peculiarity of opinion,' for the Arianism of which he had been suspected finds utterance in it.

P. 53, l. 13. 'In the latter part of his life, he was not a pro-

fessed member of any particular sect among Christians, he frequented none of their assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar rites in his family.' (Toland, Life of Milton, p. 151.) Johnson's strictures are based solely on this statement of Toland's. Milton gives his views on this question in his treatise of Christian Doctrine, Bk. i. chap. xxix ; Bk. ii. chaps. iv, vii.

l. 28. 'Sir Robert Howard . . . was a great admirer of Milton to his dying day; and being his particular acquaintance would tell many pleasant stories of him, as that he himself having demanded of him once what made him side with the Republicans? Milton answered, among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal government ; for that the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth.' (Toland, Life of Milton, p. 139.) Johnson might have found Milton's better reasons in the 'Ready and Easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth.' Milton declares a free Commonwealth to be, 'not only held by wisest men in all ages the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government, the most agreeable to all due liberty, and proportioned equality, both human, civil, and Christian, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoined by our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of gentilism upon kingship. . . . A king must be adored like a demigod, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expense and luxury, masks, and revels, to the debauching of our prime gentry both male and female; not in their pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loose employments of court service, which will be then thought honourable.' (Prose Works, ii. 116, ed. 1848.)

P. 54, l. 14. Milton's views may be gathered from Paradise Lost, iv. 295–311, 635–638; viii. 540–559; ix. 1182–1186; x. 145–156, 867–908 ; xi. 614–636 ; Samson Agonistes, 1010–1060. Some of these utterances are of course dramatic; others Milton's biographers have taken to represent the opinions and experiences of the author himself.

l. 23. See note to p. 2, l. 16. The date of Anne Milton's death is uncertain. Of her two children by Phillips, Edward Phillips

is last heard of, 1696, and John Phillips in 1706. By her marriage with Thomas Agar she had two daughters, of whom Mary, the elder, died young, and Anne, the second, married David Moore, of Sayes House, Chertsey. Descendants of Anne Moore are said to be still living. (Masson, vi. 763–775.)

l. 27. This daughter seems to have been the last living descendant of Sir Christopher Milton. She died in 1769. (Masson, vi. 761–3.)

l. 30. The name of the husband of Anne Milton is unknown, and the date of her death uncertain. She died some time before October 1678. (Masson, vi. 750.)

l. 30. Mary Milton died before 1694. (Masson, vi. 751.)

l. 32. An account of Deborah Clark and her descendants is given by Masson (vi. 751–761). The story of her power of repeating lines from Homer rests on the authority of Professor Ward of Gresham College, and was reported by him to Birch. (Life of Milton, 1738, p. 61.)

P. 55, l. 16. 'Mr. Addison was desirous to see her once, and desired she would bring with her testimonials of being Milton's daughter; but as soon as she came into the room he told her she needed none, her face having much of the likeness of the pictures he had seen of him.' Letter of George Vertue, August 21, 1721. (Masson, i. 277; Cunningham, p. 137.) Addison died in 1719.

l. 17. A fund appears to have been raised for the benefit of Mrs. Clark. 'I was in London,' says Voltaire, 'when it became known that a daughter of blind Milton was still alive, old and in poverty, and in a quarter of an hour she was rich.' Richardson speaks of her as 'nobly relieved' for her father's sake. This appears to have taken place about 1727, a few months before her death. (Masson, vi. 754.)

l. 21. Caleb Clark died parish-clerk of Fort St. George (Madras) in 1710. All trace of his family ceases in 1727.

l. 24. Mrs. Foster died childless in May 1754.

l. 28. Thomas Birch derived some information from Mrs. Foster for the life of Milton prefixed to his edition of Milton's Prose Works (1738), and some more details were gleaned from the same source by Newton.

P. 56, l. 9. See Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. Hill, i. 227. The receipts at the theatre were £147 14*s.* 6*d.*, but the expenses to be deducted amounted to £80. The sum was made up to £130 by subscriptions. (Masson, vi. 760.)

l. 17. Johnson refers to 'The Passion,' at the end of the eighth stanza of which Milton adds: 'This subject the author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished.'

l. 20. No doubt, as Cunningham suggests, Baretti.

l. 24. Pattison's judgment is precisely the reverse of that of Johnson. 'Milton's Latin verses are distinguished from most Neo-latin verse by being a vehicle of real emotion. His technical skill is said to have been surpassed by others; but that in which he stands alone is, that in these exercises of imitative art he is able to remain himself, and to give utterance to genuine passion.' (Milton, p. 41.) Landor devotes several pages to a detailed criticism of Milton's Latin poems. (Works, iv. 517-525.)

P. 57, l. 6. See note on p. 27, l. 8.

l. 13. Warton, in his 'Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope,' remarks on the neglect of Milton's minor poems, and draws special attention to Milton's Nativity Ode as not sufficiently read or admired. He concludes, 'I have dwelt chiefly on this ode as much less celebrated than L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, which are now universally known, but which by a strange fatality lay in a sort of obscurity, the private enjoyment of a few curious readers, till they were set to admirable music by Mr. Handel. And indeed this volume of Milton's miscellaneous poems has not till very lately met with suitable regard. Shall I offend any rational admirer of Pope by remarking that these juvenile descriptive poems of Milton, as well as his Latin elegies, are in a strain far more exalted than any the former author can boast? Let me add at the same time, what justice obliges me to add, that they are far more incorrect.' (Ed. 1762, p. 39.)

l. 17. Paradise Lost, iv. 343. Hannah More notes in her diary a conversation with Dr. Johnson in 1781, 'I praised Lycidas, which he absolutely abused, adding "if Milton had

not written the Paradise Lost, he would have only ranked among the minor poets. He was a Phidias that could cut a Colossus out of a rock, but could not cut heads out of cherry stones.' (Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. Hill, iv. 99, note 1.)

l. 30. Johnson disliked pastorals in general. In his Life of Shenstone he writes: 'The four parts of his "Pastoral Ballad" demand particular notice. I cannot but regret that it is pastoral; an intelligent reader acquainted with the scenes of real life, sickens at the mention of the crook, the pipe, the sheep, and the kids, which it is not necessary to bring forward to notice, for the poet's art is selection, and he ought to shew the beauties without the grossness of the country life.' (Lives of the Poets, iv. 311.) Johnson's judgment on 'Lycidas' is very similar to his judgment on Hammond's elegies. 'The truth is, these elegies have neither passion, nature, nor manners. Where there is fiction there is no passion; he that describes himself as a shepherd, and his Neaera or Delia as a shepherdess, and talks of goats and lambs, feels no passion. He that courts his mistress with Roman imagery deserves to lose her, for she may with good reason suspect his sincerity.' (Ibid. iii. 158.) In the life of Ambrose Phillips, Johnson gives a sketch of the history of pastoral poetry (Ibid. iv. 272–4). He seems to except the pastorals of Ambrose Phillips and Gay from his general censure.

P. 58, l. 2. Cowley's poem on the death of Mr. William Hervey (Poems, ed. 1700, p. 13):

'He was my friend, the truest friend on earth,
A strong and mighty influence joined our birth;
Nor did we envy the most sounding name
By friendship given of old to Fame.
None but his brethren he, and sisters knew
Whom the kind youth preferred to me;
And even in that we did agree,
For much above myself I loved them too.

Say, for you saw us, ye immortal lights,
How oft unwearied have we spent the nights?
Till the Ledaean stars so famed for love
Wondered at us from above.

We spent them not in toys, or lusts, or wine,
But search of deep philosophy;
Wit, eloquence, and poetry;
Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine.

Ye fields of Cambridge, our dear Cambridge, say,
Have ye not seen us walking every day?
Was there a tree about which did not know
The love betwixt us two?
Henceforth ye gentle trees, for ever fade;
Or your sad branches thicker join,
And into darksome shades combine;
Dark as the grave wherein my friend is laid.'

l. 9. *Batten*, to fatten, to feed. Cf. Hamlet, iii. 4:

'Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed
And batten on this moor?'

l. 28. Johnson's censure is too indiscriminate. Pastoral imagery and phraseology are throughout transparent poetical fictions. The shepherd is never a real feeder of sheep. In the first part of Lycidas he is a poet, as King was; in lines 113–131 he is a religious teacher, as King was destined to be. The defect lies not in the blending of truths and fictions, real shepherds and ecclesiastical pastors, but in the use of the figure of the shepherd, first in its classical, afterwards in its scriptural sense. There is the same mixture of classical and scriptural allegory in the introduction of the gaoler of the winds followed by the door-keeper of heaven. But while many lines in Lycidas are suggested by the laments for Daphnis in Virgil and Theocritus, the denunciation of the corrupted clergy is directly inspired by Zechariah's similar denunciation of the false prophets of his day. Milton's 'two-handed engine at the door' has its prototype and explanation in the sword which is to smite the worthless shepherd. (Zechariah, xi. 17.)

P. 59, l. 12. The question of the fidelity of Milton's descriptions of natural scenery, and of his attitude towards nature in these poems is discussed by Pattison, Milton, pp. 23–29. The versification is criticised by Gray, 'Observations on English Metre'; Works, ed. Gosse, i. 333.

P. 60, l. 14. L'Allegro, 134.

l. 16. Il Penseroso, 155–166.

l. 21. L'Allegro, 148; Il Penseroso, 105–8.

P. 62, l. 20. Comus, 495–512.

l. 33. Sir Henry Wotton, in the letter prefixed to 'Comus,' terms it 'a dainty piece of entertainment, wherein I should much commend the tragical part, if the lyrical did not ravish me with a certain Doric delicacy in your songs and odes; whereunto I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language.'

P. 63, l. 3. 'The conclusion is admirable, though it must be acknowledged that the piece is undramatic. Johnson makes an unanswerable objection to the prologue: but he must have lost all the senses that are affected by poetry when he calls the whole drama "tediously instructive." There is indeed here and there prolixity; yet refreshing springs burst out profusely in every part of the wordy wilderness.' (Landor, Works, iv. 511.) The great defect of Johnson's criticism of 'Comus' is that he judges a masque as if it were an acting drama.

l. 8. The sonnets Johnson excepts from his general condemnation are the one headed 'When the Assault was intended to the City,' and the first of those addressed to Cyriack Skinner. On the fabric of the sonnet, the history of its growth, and the question of its proper form, see the preface to Pattison's edition of Milton's Sonnets, 1883. 'Milton's distinction in the history of the sonnet is that, not overawed by the great name of Shakspere, he emancipated this form of poem from the two vices which depraved the Elizabethan sonnet—from the vice of misplaced wit in substance, and of misplaced rime in form.' Preface, p. 45.

l. 33. Cunningham compares a passage in 'Rasselas,' chapter x., written by Johnson in 1759. 'To a poet nothing can be useless. Whatever is beautiful and whatever is dreadful must be familiar to his imagination; he must be conversant with all that is awfully vast, or elegantly little. The plants of the garden, the animals of the wood, the minerals of the earth, the meteors of the sky, must all concur to store his mind with inexhaustible variety: for every idea is useful

for the enforcement or decoration of moral or religious truth; and he who knows most, will have most power of diversifying his scenes, and of gratifying his reader with remote allusions and unexpected instruction.'

P. 64, l. 15. 'Those who have read Bossu, and many of the critics who have written since his time, will not pardon me if I do not find out the particular moral which is inculcated in "Paradise Lost." Though I can by no means think with the last-mentioned French author that an epic writer first of all pitches upon a certain moral as the groundwork and foundation of his poem, and afterwards finds out a story to it, I am, however, of his opinion that no just heroic poem ever was, or can be made, from whence one great moral may not be deduced. That which reigns in Milton is the most universal and most useful that can be imagined; it is, in short, this, that obedience to the will of God makes men happy, and that disobedience makes them miserable.' (Addison, Spectator, No. 369.)

P. 65, l. 8. *Consent*, to feel with, sympathise with. See Paradise Lost, Bk. ix. l. 782, 1000.

l. 14. Paradise Lost, vi. 221–223.

l. 27. Compare with Johnson's remarks on the characters of 'Paradise Lost,' the second of Addison's papers on Milton, Spectator, No. 273.

P. 66, l. 3. 'His sentiments are every way answerable to his character, and suitable to a created being of the most exalted and most depraved nature . . . Amongst those impieties which this enraged spirit utters in other places of this poem, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a religious reader; his words, as the poet himself describes them, bearing only "semblance of worth, not substance."' (Addison, seventh paper, Spectator, No. 303.)

l. 4. John Clarke, master of a school at Hull, author of 'An Essay upon Study.'

l. 27. Paradise Lost, v. 152–208.

l. 30. Paradise Lost, ix. 1067–1187; x. 867–1096.

P. 67, *l. 2.* 'The mutual subordination of the two sexes is

wonderfully kept up in the whole poem.' (Addison, tenth paper, Spectator, No. 321.)

l. 5. 'Aristotle observes that the fable of an epic poem should abound in circumstances that are both credible and astonishing; or, as the French critics choose to phrase it, the fable should be filled with the probable and the marvellous. This rule is as fine and just as any in Aristotle's whole Art of Poetry. If the fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true history; if it is only marvellous, it is no better than a romance. The great secret, therefore, of heroic poetry is to relate such circumstances as may produce in the reader at the same time both belief and astonishment.' (Addison, ninth paper, Spectator, No. 315.)

l. 16. Milton's poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of his readers, of whatever nation, country, or people he may belong to, not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in it; but what is still infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors in this poem are not only our progenitors, but our representatives. We have an actual interest in everything they do, and no less than our utmost happiness is concerned, and lies at stake in all their behaviour.' (Addison, second paper, Spectator, 273.)

l. 29. Compare Addison's first paper on 'Paradise Lost,' Spectator, No. 267.

P. 68, l. 27. Dryden wrote in 1692, in the 'Essay on Satire' prefixed to his translation of Juvenal, 'As for Mr. Milton, whom we all admire with so much justice, his subject is not that of an heroic poem, properly so called. His design is the losing of our happiness; his event is not prosperous like that of all other epic works; his heavenly machines are many, and his human persons are but two.' (Works, ed. 1808, xiii. 19.) Addison refers to the question thus raised at the commencement of his first paper, 'I shall waive the discussion of that point, which was started some years since, whether Milton's "Paradise Lost" may be called an heroic poem? Those who will not give it that title may call it (if they please) a divine poem.' (Spectator, 267.) In the sixth and eighteenth papers Addison discusses the

question whether an heroic poem may end unhappily, and concludes that 'Paradise Lost' is defective as an heroic poem in so ending. 'Milton's fable was deficient in this particular. It is here, therefore, that the poet has shewn a most exquisite judgment, as well as the finest invention, by finding out a method to supply this natural defect in his subject. Accordingly he leaves the adversary of mankind, in the last view which he gives us of him, under the lowest state of mortification and disappointment . . . On the contrary, our two first parents are comforted by dreams and visions, cheered with promises of salvation, and in a manner raised to a greater happiness than that which they had forfeited; in short, Satan is represented miserable in the height of his triumphs, and Adam triumphant in the height of his misery.' (Spectator, No. 369.) Besides questioning whether 'Paradise Lost' was an heroic poem, Dryden had argued that the devil was the hero and not Adam (Preface to Virgil, Works, ed. 1808, xiv. 142). Addison replies by saying that '"Paradise Lost" is an epic or a narrative poem, and he that looks for an hero in it searches for that which Milton never intended; but if he will needs fix the name of an hero upon any person in it, 'tis certainly the Messiah who is the hero, both in the principal action and in the chief episodes.' (Sixth paper, Spectator, No. 297.) Landor, in his criticisms on Milton, observes, 'There is neither truth nor wit in saying that Satan is the hero of the piece, unless, as is usually the case in human life, he is the greatest hero who gives the widest sway to the worst passions. It is Adam who acts and suffers most, and on whom the consequences have most influence. This constitutes him the main character; although Eve is the more interesting, Satan the more energetic, and on whom the greater force of poetry is displayed. The Creator and his angels are quite secondary.' (Landor's Works, ed. 1874, iv. 434.)

l. 32. Compare Addison's third paper, Spectator, No. 279.

P. 69, l. 11. Paradise Lost, v. 805–907; viii. 65–215.

l. 25. Algarotti terms it 'gigantesca sublimità Miltoniana.' (Johnson.)

P. 70, l. 23. Dryden says of Shakespeare, 'All the images of nature were still present to him, and he drew them not laboriously but luckily: when he describes anything, you more than see it, you feel it too. Those who accuse him to have wanted learning give him the greater commendation: he was naturally learned; he needed not the spectacles of books to read nature; he looked inwards, and found her there.' (An Essay of Dramatic Poesy; Works, xv. 350, ed. 1808.)

l. 25. Paradise Lost, iv. 268.

l. 28. Paradise Lost, ii. 1017.

P. 71, l. 1. Addison discusses Milton's similes at the end of his seventh paper, Spectator, No. 303.

l. 7. Paradise Lost, i. 284.

l. 20. *Pravity*; immorality, a moral perversity. 'Therefore was law given them, to evince their natural pravity.' (Milton.)

P. 72, l. 11. Paradise Lost, xi. 8.

l. 27. 'Johnson, I think, has been charged unjustly with expressing too freely and inconsiderately the blemishes of Milton. There are many more than he has noticed ... In Johnson's estimate I do not perceive the unfairness of which many have complained ... Johnson has himself done great good by exposing great faults in great authors. He seldom is erroneous in his censures, but he never is sufficiently excited to admiration of what is purest and highest in poetry.' (Landor, Works, ed. 1876, iv. 431, 473-4.)

P. 73, l. 5. Richard Bentley (1682–1742) published his edition of 'Paradise Lost' in 1732. The theories which guided Bentley in his emendations are thus stated by him in his preface. 'Our celebrated author, when he composed this poem, being obnoxious to the government, poor, friendless and, what is worst of all, blind, ... could only dictate his verses to be writ by another. Whence it necessarily follows, that any errors in spelling, printing, nay even in whole words of a like or near sound in pronunciation, are not to be charged upon the poet, but on the amanuensis... But more calamities, than are yet mentioned, have happened to our poem: for the friend or acquaintance, whoever he was, to whom Milton committed his copy and the overseeing of the

press, did so vilely execute that trust, that Paradise, under his ignorance and audaciousness, may be said to be twice lost. . . This supposed friend, . . . knowing Milton's bad circumstances, thought he had a fit opportunity to foist into the book several of his own verses, without the blind poet's discovery.' An instance of the errors made by the amanuensis is to be found in line 6 of 'Paradise Lost.' The scribe wrote 'secret top'; Milton, according to Bentley, said 'sacred top.' In Book I, lines 39, 74, 287, 351, 355, are, with many others, assumed to be interpolated by the treacherous editor. But there is no ground for the statement that Bentley privately owned the falsity of his supposition. 'There can be no doubt, I think,' says Professor Jebb, 'that Bentley's theory of the depraved editor, was broached in perfect good faith.' (Life of Bentley, p. 188, Eng. Men of Letters.) Bentley, in his preface, takes occasion expressly to deny the imputation that 'this persona of an editor' was 'a mere Fantom, fiction, an artifice to screen Milton himself.'

P. 75, l. 10. 'Johnson's remarks on the allegory of Milton are just and wise; so are those on the non-materiality, or non-immateriality of Satan.' (Landor, iv. 473.) On this point Hallam and Macaulay defend Milton against the strictures of Johnson. Pattison observes, 'In his handling, Milton presents his spiritual existences with just so much relief as to endow them with life and personality, and not with that visual distinctness which would at once reveal their spectral immateriality, and so give a shock to the illusion. . . By his art of suggestion by association, he does all he can to aid us to realise his agents, and at the moment, when distinctness would disturb, he withdraws the object into a mist, and so disguises the incongruities which he could not avoid.' (Pattison, Life of Milton, p. 184.)

l. 17. Paradise Lost, i. 296.

l. 20. Paradise Lost, ii. 932.

l. 21. Paradise Lost, iv. 800.

l. 23. Paradise Lost, iv. 819.

l. 24. Paradise Lost, iv. 990

l. 28. Paradise Lost, i. 789.

l. 31. Paradise Lost, vi. 656, 661.

P. 76, l. 1. Paradise Lost, vi. 595-7.

l. 6. Paradise Lost, iv. 556.

l. 7. Paradise Lost, ix. 484.

l. 9. The sixth book of Paradise Lost. Addison criticises this book in his twelfth paper, and has nothing but praise for it throughout. (Spectator, No. 333.) Voltaire condemns it as absurd. (Art. Epopée, Dictionnaire Philosophique; Works, ed. 1819, xxxv. 439.)

l. 14. Addison discusses Milton's allegorical personages in his second and sixteenth papers. (Spectator, Nos. 273, 357.)

l. 27. Paradise Lost, ii. 648-880. Addison, after mentioning certain instances of allegorical personifications in Homer and Virgil, concludes: 'It is plain that these I have mentioned, in which persons of an imaginary nature are introduced, are such short allegories as are not designed to be taken in a literal sense, but only to convey particular circumstances to the reader after an unusual and entertaining manner. But when such persons are introduced as principal actors, and engaged in a series of adventures, they take too much upon them, and are by no means proper for an heroic poem, which ought to appear credible in its principal parts. I cannot forbear therefore thinking, that Sin and Death are as improper agents in a work of this nature, as Strength and Necessity in one of the tragedies of Aeschylus, who represented those two persons nailing down Prometheus to a rock, for which he has been justly censured by the greatest critics.' (Spectator, No. 357.)

P. 77, l. 8. Paradise Lost, x. 293-324.

l. 14. Paradise Lost, iv. 820-1015.

l. 17. Paradise Lost, i. 650.

l. 22. Paradise Lost, v. 95-116.

l. 25. Paradise Lost, vii. 111-130; viii. 66-178.

l. 29. Paradise Lost, vi. 857.

l. 30. 'It is true he runs into a flat of thought sometimes for a hundred lines together, but it is when he has got into a track of Scripture.' (Preface to Juvenal.) 'Milton's Paradise Lost is admirable: but am I therefore bound to maintain

that there are no flats among his elevations, when it is evident he creeps along sometimes for above a hundred lines together?' (Works, ed. 1808, vol. xiii. 20, xii. 281.)

P. 78, l. 13. Paradise Lost, iii. 496. Orlando Furioso, Bk. xxxiv.

l. 17. Addison, at the close of his third paper on Paradise Lost, and in his sixth paper, gives instances of Milton's play on words and use of technical language. (Spectator, Nos. 279, 297.) See also Bentley's notes on Paradise Lost, i. 642; vi. 615. On the latter Bentley remarks: 'These passages, of Satan and Belial's insulting and jesting mockery, have been often censured, especially by an ingenious gentleman, who had a settled aversion to all puns, as they are called; which niceness, if carried to extremity, will depreciate half of the good sayings of the old Greek or Latin wits. I'll not engage in the opinions of either side. But, for my author's vindication, I'll observe, that he copied from his great predecessor Homer; who makes Patroclus, after he had slain Cebriones, Hector's Charioteer, to take the like jocose insulting humour.'

l. 32. The difference in style between Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained has been admirably summed up by Pattison (Milton, 191–195). The frigidity of Paradise Regained is not simply the result of the poet's increasing age and declining powers, nor is it merely the common defect of continuations. It is partly studied severity of style adapted to a different form of composition. As Coleridge has pointed out, Paradise Regained is essentially a didactic rather than a narrative poem. Milton in 1641 enumerated amongst the different forms of poetical composition he proposed attempting, 'that epic form, whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief, model.' (The Reason of Church Government.) 'I do not doubt,' remarks Coleridge, 'that Milton intended his "Paradise Lost" as an epic of the first class, and that the poetic dialogue of the book of Job was his model for the general scheme of his "Paradise Regained." Readers would not be disappointed in this latter poem, if they proceeded to a perusal of it with a

proper preconception of the kind of interest intended to be excited in that admirable work. In its kind it is the most perfect poem extant, though its kind may be inferior in interest—being in its essence didactic—to that other sort, in which instruction is conveyed more effectively, because less directly, in connection with stronger and more pleasurable emotions, and thereby in a closer affinity with action.' (Lectures and Notes on Shakspere and other English Poets; ed. Ashe, 1885, p. 527.) Landor's criticism may be found in his works, ed. 1876, vol. iv. 479-489; vol. viii. 387-393.

P. 79, l. 9. Johnson devoted two papers of the 'Rambler' (Nos. 139, 140) to a detailed criticism of 'Samson Agonistes.' 'The tragedy of Samson Agonistes has been celebrated as the second work of the great author of Paradise Lost, and opposed with all the confidence of triumph to the dramatic performances of other nations. It contains indeed just sentiments, maxims of wisdom, and oracles of piety, and many passages written with the ancient spirit of choral poetry, in which there is a just and pleasing mixture of Seneca's moral declamation, with the wild enthusiasm of the Greek writers. It is therefore worthy of examination, whether a performance thus illuminated with genius, and enriched with learning, is composed according to the indispensable laws of Aristotelian criticism: and, omitting at present all other considerations, whether it exhibits a beginning, a middle, and an end.... After examining the play throughout, he concludes that 'the catastrophe is undoubtedly just and regular, and the poem, therefore, has a beginning and an end which Aristotle himself could not have disapproved; but it must be allowed to want a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson. The whole drama, if its superfluities were cut off, would scarcely fill a single act; yet this is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry applauded.'

l. 26. Dryden observes: 'His antiquated words were his choice, not his necessity; for therein he imitated Spenser, as Spenser did Chaucer. And though, perhaps, the love of their masters may have transported both too far, in the frequent

use of them, yet, in my opinion, obsolete words may then be laudably revived, when either they are more sounding, or more significant, than those in practice; and when their obscurity is taken away, by joining other words to them, which clear the sense; according to the rule of Horace, for the admission of new words.' (Preface to Juvenal; Works, xiii. 20.)

l. 29. 'The language of this great poet . . is often too much laboured and sometimes obscured by old words, transpositions and foreign idioms. . . . . Milton's sentiments and ideas were so wonderfully sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have represented them in their full strength and beauty, without having recourse to these foreign assistances. Our language sunk under him, and was unequal to that greatness of soul, which furnished him with such glorious conceptions.' (Addison, Spectator, 297.) 'The language and versification of the Paradise Lost are peculiar in being so much more necessarily correspondent to each other than those in any other poem or poet. The connection of the sentences and the position of the words are exquisitely artificial; but the position is rather according to the logic of passion or universal logic, than to the logic of grammar. Milton attempted to make the English language obey the logic of passion as perfectly as the Greek and Latin. Hence the occasional harshness in the construction.' (Coleridge, Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare and other English Poets, on ed. 1885, p. 524.)

P. 80, l. 13. 'Spenser in affecting the ancients writ no language; yet I would have him read for his matter, but as Virgil read Ennius.' (Jonson, Discoveries; Works, iii. 412, ed. Cunningham.)

l. 14. Butler says of the language of Sir Hudibras:—

> 'When he pleased to shew't, his speech
> In loftiness of sound was rich,
> A Babylonish dialect,
> Which learned pedants much affect.
> It was a particoloured dress
> Of patch'd and piebald languages,
> 'Twas English cut on Greek and Latin,
> Like fustian heretofore on satin.'
>
> (Hudibras, Part I, Canto i, l. 89.)

l. 22. In the same way Johnson says of Pope: 'He cultivated our language with so much diligence and art, that he has left in his Homer a treasure of poetical elegances to posterity. His version may be said to have tuned the English tongue; for since its appearance no writer, however deficient in other powers, has wanted melody.' (Lives of the Poets, iv. 180, ed. 1794.)

l. 25. See the preface on 'The Verse' prefixed to 'Paradise Lost.' Milton quotes as precedents: 'Italian and Spanish poets of prime note,' and 'our best English tragedies.' The Earl of Surrey translated the second and fourth books of the Aeneid into blank verse; the fourth book was printed separately about 1548, the second did not appear till 1557 when both were printed together. Warton describes the translation as 'a noble attempt to break the bondage of rhyme.' (History of English Poetry, iv. 38, ed. Hazlitt.) The first tragedy written in blank verse was 'Gorboduc,' by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, and Thomas Norton. It was acted in 1562 and printed in 1565. (Ibid. p. 255.) The earliest poems written in blank verse are those by Nicholas Grimoald in Tottel's Miscellany (1557), and Gascoigne's 'Steel Glass' (1576). The poem on Guiana referred to by Johnson is probably George Chapman's 'De Guiana, Carmen epicum,' published in 1596, prefixed to 'A relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana,' by Lawrence Keymis. Giovanni Trissino (1478–1550), who is termed by Hallam 'the father of blank verse,' published his 'Italia Liberata' in 1548. (Hallam, Literature of Europe, i. 577.)

P. 81, l. 2. The theory that Milton adopted blank verse because it was easier than rhyme, had been before put forward by Dryden: 'Neither will I justify Milton for his blank verse, though I may excuse him, by the example of Hannibal Caro, and other Italians, who have used it; for whatever causes he alleges for the abolishing of rhyme, (which I have not now the leisure to examine,) his own particular reason is plainly this, that rhyme was not his talent; he had neither the ease of doing it, nor the graces of it; which is manifest in his "Juvenilia," or verses written in his youth, where his

rhyme is always constrained and forced, and comes hardly from him, at an age when the soul is most pliant, and the passion of love makes almost every man a rhymer, though not a poet.' (Preface to Juvenal; Works, xiii. 21, ed. 1808.) In a similar spirit Voltaire remarks: 'Je crois la rime nécessaire à tous les peuples qui n'ont pas dans leur langue une mélodie sensible, marquée par les longues et par les brèves, et qui ne peuvent employer ces dactyles et ces spondées qui font un effet si merveilleux dans le latin. Je me souviendrai toujours que je demandai au célèbre Pope, pourquoi Milton n'avait pas rimé son Paradis Perdu, et qu'il me répondit, Because he could not, parcequ'il ne le pouvait pas.' (Voltaire, Dictionnaire Philosophique, Art. 'Epopée'; Works, xxxv. 435, ed. 1819.)

l. 19. Cunningham quotes Cowper's comments on this passage: 'Was there ever anything so delightful as the music of the "Paradise Lost"? It is like that of a fine organ; has the fullest and deepest tones of majesty, with all the softness and elegance of the Dorian flute. Variety without end, and never equalled unless perhaps by Virgil. Yet the Doctor has little or nothing to say upon this copious theme, but talks something about the unfitness of the English language for blank verse, and how apt it is, in the mouth of some readers, to degenerate into declamation. Oh! I could thresh his old jacket till I made his pension jingle in his pocket.' (Cowper to Unwin, October 31, 1779.)

l. 22. 'The gentleman whom he thus characterises is (as he told Mr. Seward) Mr. Lock, of Norbury Park, in Surrey, whose knowledge and taste in the fine arts is universally celebrated.' (Boswell, Life of Johnson, iv. 43, ed. Hill.)

l. 25. Johnson condemns Somerville and Roscommon for the use of blank verse, but thinks it properly used in Thomson's 'Seasons' and Young's 'Night Thoughts.' Of the latter work he says: 'This is one of the few poems in which blank verse could not be changed for rhyme, but with disadvantage.' (Life of Young; Lives of the Poets, ed. 1794, iv. 392.) Johnson devotes four papers of the 'Rambler' (Nos. 86, 88, 90, 94) to an examination of Milton's versi-

fication. He concludes: 'If the poetry of Milton be examined with regard to the pauses, and flow of his verses into each other, it will appear, that he has performed all that our language would admit; and the comparison of his numbers with those who have cultivated the same manner of writing, will show that he excelled as much in the lower as the higher parts of his art, and that his skill in harmony was not less than his invention or his learning.' (Rambler, No. 90.)

P. 82, l. 1. 'I am aware that Johnson has said, after some hesitation, that he could not "prevail on himself to wish that Milton had been a rhymer." The opinions of that truly great man, whom it is also the present fashion to decry, will ever be received by me with that deference which time will restore to him from all; but with all humility I am not persuaded that the "Paradise Lost" would not have been more nobly conveyed to posterity, not perhaps in heroic couplets, although even *they* could sustain the subject if well balanced, but in the stanza of Spenser or of Tasso, or in the terza rima of Dante, which the powers of Milton could easily have grafted on our own language.' (Byron, Letter to D'Israeli, quoted by Cunningham, i. 165.)

l. 22. 'But I wonder not so much at the poem itself, though worthy of all wonder; as that the author could so abstract his thoughts from his own troubles, as to be able to make it; that confined in a narrow and to him a dark chamber, surrounded with cares and fears, he could spatiate at large through the compass of the whole universe, and through all heaven beyond it; could survey all periods of time from before the creation to the consummation of all things. This theory, no doubt, was a great solace to him in his affliction; but it shews in him a greater strength of spirit, that made him capable of such a solace.' (Bentley, Preface to Paradise Lost; 1732.)

THE END.

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